


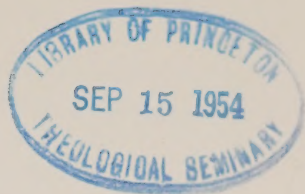
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*Communism in Education
in Asia, Africa
and the Far Pacific*



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**COMMUNISM
IN EDUCATION**
in ASIA, AFRICA
and the FAR PACIFIC



by Walter Crosby Eells

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

COMMUNISM
IN EDUCATION
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and the FAR PACIFIC

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by Walter Crosby Ellis

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Preface

FOR FOUR years, from 1947 to 1951, the author was Adviser on Higher Education on the staff of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) at General Headquarters, Tokyo, Japan. During the last two years of this period he was rather active in working against the Communist influence in Japanese universities and unintentionally became the storm center of violent Communist-led student demonstrations in some of these institutions.

Having reached retirement age in the spring of 1951, he and his wife left Tokyo on a leisurely and circuitous journey homeward. During the next two and a half years we traveled some ninety thousand miles in sixty-three countries, colonies, or other political divisions in the South Pacific, Asia, Africa, and Europe. We traveled by air, by sea, by river, by rail, by bus, by private car, and even by elephant.

During this period we observed educational conditions in most of the countries visited and made a special study of the influence of communism on education in thirty-nine countries of the Far East and Middle East. In many of these countries communism is persistently knocking at the doors of the schools. In many of them it has already obtained dangerous entrance. In others it is the potentiality rather than the current strength that is to be feared.

Europe was not included in this field of special study since Communist conditions in Europe are much better known and have

been written about more freely in American publications. Also the greater part of our European visits occurred in the summers of 1952 and 1953 when universities and other schools were closed for vacation and their officials therefore were not readily available for conferences.

Much less is known and has been published in the United States regarding the impact of communism on the countries of Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. Almost half the population of the globe is found in the countries of these regions which we visited. This vast area is seething with unrest. Its more than one billion inhabitants, eight times the population of the United States, are a fertile field for Communist influence. The key to its future successful development, as Communist leaders realize all too well, lies in education. It becomes particularly significant, therefore, to consider the relation of communism to education for this vital majority of the earth's inhabitants.

Some of the results of the author's studies have been reported in a series of six articles on the influence of communism on education which were published in the *Educational Record* in 1952 and 1953.¹ The present volume is based upon these articles which have been revised and, as far as feasible, brought up to date. Also three new chapters have been added.

All of the articles were based upon firsthand conferences with representative educators in the different countries and upon current publications which were read during the visits to them. The educators with whom conferences were held included the cultural affairs and education officers of the American Embassies and consulates, who were particularly helpful in making initial contacts with local educational leaders; librarians of the United States Information Service; Fulbright scholars and officers of the local United States education foundations; Point Four representatives, particularly in the field of education; missionaries in privately controlled educational institutions; officials of the national ministries of education; various local educational administrative officers; uni-

¹ *Educational Record*, January 1952, pp. 41-70; April 1952, pp. 198-211; October 1952, pp. 481-513; January 1953, pp. 68-76; July 1953, pp. 187-204; October 1953, pp. 336-47.

versity presidents, vice-chancellors, deans, registrars, professors, and students; and principals, headmasters, headmistresses, and teachers in secondary schools.

Many of these officials are quoted by name. Others, however, preferred to remain anonymous, and their wishes, of course, have been respected. At times some of the local officials were perhaps somewhat less than frank or they may not have been fully cognizant of conditions actually existing in the schools under their jurisdiction. In some cases, perhaps, they did not welcome questions from an inquisitive foreigner regarding possible Communist influences in their schools. Some did not want to advertise their freedom from Communist influence for the reason given by the administrative head of one university: "We are naturally on the lookout for indications of Communist penetration, and if there are no cells here I should not like attention drawn to that fact because it might stimulate some of our 'friends' to attempt to remedy it. The less said about this the better."

The local press, both Communist and non-Communist, was read carefully, as far as possible, for the light that it might throw upon conditions. In most of the countries there were newspapers and other publications available in English. For the vernacular press, access was often given to translations and summaries prepared at the American Embassy or consulate for staff use, or (as in Egypt) the summaries published in the English-language papers were utilized. Many books and special reports were studied. Frequent quotations from these sources are given in the following chapters to indicate local opinion and judgment.

The original articles printed in the *Educational Record* necessarily represented conditions as found at the time of the author's visit. The earliest of them was printed more than two years ago and represented conditions as observed several months earlier. Conditions with reference to communism have not remained static in the intervening period. In revising the articles for inclusion in this volume an effort has been made to bring them up to date through letters from personal correspondents and through press reports. This has been possible only in part. It is believed, however, that there is permanent value in the reports of conditions

found at the time of the visits even though in some cases there may have been significant changes since that time which are not discussed.

To complete the picture, it has seemed desirable to add a chapter on China to the articles which appeared in the *Educational Record*. This chapter indicates what actually happens to education in a country completely taken over by a Communist government. It may show what is likely to occur to education in other countries of Asia and Africa if any of them should go under Communist control. The chapter on China is the only chapter in the book which is not based upon personal visits and study on the ground. We were in sight of Communist China at Hong Kong and Macao. Other countries visited bordered on this vast country, but for obvious reasons we did not cross the border. Had we done so, this volume might never have been written. For the chapter on China, therefore, it has been necessary to depend upon secondary sources. These sources are indicated in detail in chapter 10.

Two other chapters have also been added. An initial chapter has been prepared discussing some of the reasons for Communist influence on education (chapter 1); and a final chapter suggests some things which may be done by the United States to offset some of the Communist influences on education in the different countries studied.

There remains the pleasant duty of expressing appreciation to the numerous individuals in many countries who have assisted in the past three years in giving information and assistance to the author in his search for truth in this vital but difficult field.

WALTER CROSBY EELLS

Washington, D.C.

March 1, 1954

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1. Causes of Communist Influence on Education

WHAT ARE the major causes of Communist influence among teachers and students in the countries of Asia, Africa, and the far Pacific? A consideration of this question will perhaps throw light upon the report of specific facts and conditions of Communist developments there.

Many of the basic causes for interest in communism among intellectual groups are doubtless the same as the causes for such interest among the general population. Some special factors, however, are peculiar to the educational groups—professors, or students, or both—especially at the university level. Some of the general factors are intensified and have special implications for them. Consideration of these factors will show the climate favorable to the development of communism in the educational systems.

The following factors will be considered in this chapter: Communist organization, Communist ideology, economic conditions, unemployment, health, nationalism, racialism, illiteracy, literature, Arab political attitudes, and Islamic attitudes.

COMMUNIST ORGANIZATION

Communists are past masters of organization. The party has set up an elaborate network of agencies designed to handle all activi-

ties from education and propaganda to guerrilla warfare. In many of the universities, student cells are well organized and work very effectively.

Even though only a minority of the student body belongs to the Communist cell, Communist students have often succeeded in gaining control of student organizations and activities. They have learned all the tricks of parliamentary organization and use them effectively. They secure control by planning carefully, acting as a unit, delaying decisive votes until the opposition is worn out, and finally securing the important decisions. It is a Soviet axiom that an organized minority can always control an apathetic majority.

Typical Communist strategy is to seize upon a popular issue that represents some cause for legitimate discontent. Communists feed on grievances and strife. In every country where they have achieved power they were astute enough to attach themselves to some popular cause such as land reform, labor reform, overpopulation, rural poverty, or social legislation. Student support to cure these obvious ills was whipped up.

To student groups communism promised academic freedom, student autonomy, and intellectual utopias. Communists have posed as champions of better student living conditions, improvements in the examination system, freedom of speech, nonincrease of tuition, anticolonialism, and national independence. Many students follow like sheep in Communist-led demonstrations and movements for such causes.

Communist student leaders know what they want. They are alert. They are on the job twenty-four hours a day. They are zealous missionaries for their cause. In Japan the national Communist student organization Zengakuren, under skilled and dedicated leadership, was far more effective than the later-organized rival Shigakuren, a national student group formed primarily as an anti-Communist body. The latter lacked drive, energy, effective leadership, and a vigorous program. Many times in Japan we wished that the non-Communist students would exhibit one-half the zeal and passionate devotion of the Communists. But there was no all-Japanese student group seeking aggressively to win students to democratic ideals.

COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY

Many professors of philosophy and the social sciences and university students specializing in these fields have a genuine interest in the theory of communism. They note that Communist governments at the present time cover one-fourth of the world's inhabited land and control one-third of its population. There must be a reason for these developments which they are interested in discovering. They study the works of Marx and Lenin and Stalin. They find that communism *appears* to stand for some very worthy principles and ideals such as "the right of the common man," "equality of men and women," "lack of racial discrimination," and similar doctrines. It uses such terms as "democracy" and "freedom" and "peace" which sound very attractive to the inquiring student, ignorant of the distorted meanings given these terms in Communist countries. The class struggle, common ownership of means of production, and even possible revolution by force and violence appeal to many of them as the best way out of the harsh situations in which they find themselves, particularly in the wake of World War II.

Normal economic and social conditions have been shattered in many countries as a result of the war. Colonialism is dying throughout the Orient. Democracy too often is identified with imperialism. Perhaps communism offers the best solution. It deserves the thoughtful and sympathetic consideration of university groups. So they argue. Unfortunately they do not have the knowledge of actual conditions and practices that would enable them to discriminate between communism as an abstract ideology and communism as found in actual practice under Soviet and satellite regimes in the dozen or more nations that have fallen under its sway in the past decade.

This ideological vacuum has been particularly marked in the case of Japan. Its young people had been trained for generations to believe in the divinity and infallibility of the Emperor as a direct descendant of the sun goddess. Shinto religion had been distorted to a patriotic cult—to a belief that the Japanese nation was indestructible and had a special mission to rule the rest of the world, at least the Asiatic world. "All the world under one roof" was their

popular wartime slogan, with the Japanese military masters sitting astride the ridgepole! Japanese young people, from their entrance to the primary school to graduation from the university, had been taken to the Shinto shrines in groups to do obeisance to their Emperor and to the spirits of their ancestors. They were continually indoctrinated with the divine mission of Japan to rule the world and the glory of dying for the Emperor. Several times a year in their schools they listened with rapt attention to the reading with great ceremony and solemnity of the sonorous Imperial Rescript on Education in which they were most solemnly adjured to "guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth," and in which they were impressively assured that "the way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed by their descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages, and true in all places."

Then overnight all of these ideals, so carefully built up in the minds of the youth of this nation of eighty-five million people, were rudely shattered. They found that their Emperor was not divine but had feet of clay, that he was not descended from the sun goddess but was very human. He renounced all claim to divine descent in his New Year message in January 1946. When the terms of surrender were signed on the deck of the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, September 2, 1945, they learned that Shinto teachings were not "infallible." A few weeks later by occupation directives they saw their revered Shinto abolished as their state religion and patriotic cult, its teaching and practice prohibited in the schools, all copies of the Imperial Rescript on Education ordered collected and destroyed, and students forbidden to attend Shinto shrines in school groups.

Under such violent changes it is not surprising that many Japanese young people were bewildered. Many of them fortunately showed new interest in the teachings of democracy and Christianity; many drifted aimlessly. It is hardly surprising that many others turned to the alluring promises of communism. Rather it is surprising that more did not do so.

In attempting to analyze the reasons for student Communist disturbances in Japan five years after the end of the World War

II, the Japanese Education Reform Council, composed of some fifty of the leading educators of the country, stated that the fundamental causes of these disturbances were "social conditions subsequent to war, influence of international situations, and confusion of thought on the part of students."

This ideological confusion on the part of students is not limited to Japan although it is perhaps best exemplified there. It is found in many countries of the Near and Far East where the old order of colonialism has been rapidly giving place to the new—less violently and suddenly than in the case of Japan but none the less surely and rapidly. It is not surprising that many of the students in these countries are also attracted by the Marxist ideology.

John W. Gardner, vice-president of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, writes:

Able, vigorous, intelligent young men who can find no outlet for their talents, no possibility of a useful role in society, and no hope of realizing their aspirations, constitute an explosive element in any country. And the Communists have had long experience in working with such explosive materials. Communism offers them a dogmatic ideology which will relieve them of all uncertainty and give them a sense of acting with inexorable forces of history. It provides an organization which will relieve them of the sense of being alone and helpless in the face of the social forces which frustrate them. It promises that the social order which produced their frustration can be changed. And it provides them with definite methods for bringing about this result.¹

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Trygve Lie, former Secretary-General of the United Nations, said in October 1953 at Cleveland that communism cannot be defeated unless "shocking conditions" of poverty and misery are eliminated throughout the world. He stated, "The vast majority of the people of the world live in poverty and misery, and they know it. And they don't like it. . . . The menace of Communist imperialism itself is rooted in conditions of this kind, which are the breeding grounds for unrest, turmoil, and totalitarianism."

A distinguished American President stated a few years ago that

¹ Gardner, "The Foreign Student in America," Institute of International Education *News Bulletin*, January 1953, pp. 3-13. Reprinted from *Foreign Affairs*, July 1952.

in the United States at that time one-third of the population was ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clad. This figure would need to be changed to nine-tenths or more, instead of one-third, to fit most of the hundreds of millions living in poverty, hunger, and suffering in Asia and Africa. The living conditions in these countries lead not only to discontent but to malnutrition, illness, and early death.

The key to the increasing appeal of communism in most of the countries covered by this study is undoubtedly the economic one. The simple fact is that there are too many mouths to feed from too few productive acres. And mouths are increasing much more rapidly than acres. Japan, for example, has the impossible task of feeding eighty-five million people with an area less than that of the state of California—with only 16 percent of it tillable. The rest is mountainous. And to make matters worse, the population is increasing at the rate of a million a year. Approximately the same annual increase is found in Indonesia and in Pakistan, each with over seventy million people. In India there are three million additional mouths to feed each year. The number of people in Egypt has doubled in the present century, making the narrow green belt along the Nile one of the most densely populated regions on earth. Mrs. Huxley (quoted more fully in chapter 8) says that in Africa the need for food presses harder all the time "as babies tumble from the African cornucopia." In most of Asia increase in rice production lags far behind increase in the birth rate.

Empty stomachs are the best breeding ground for communism—particularly when Indian and other selected delegations visit the Soviet Union or Communist China (on carefully conducted tours) and return to report on improved economic conditions which they have observed in those countries. The head of the Indian Statistical Institute assured the writer that he had visited the Soviet Union and had seen with his own eyes "economic conditions and standards of living that are vastly better than the average in India today."

World War II caused vast destruction in many lands, dislocation of basic economies, and shortages in agricultural production. It made various currencies worthless or nearly so. Normal interchange and distribution of essential foodstuffs and other goods

were thrown out of balance or stopped entirely. Great numbers of people suffered acutely. Bullets may stop armies but they do not kill ideas. The victims of the war, beset by misery and poverty, became an easy prey to communism. The promises of communism are attractive. Not until too late do those who accept it and see their country turn to Communist control realize that they have surrendered their individual liberties. Too late they learn that virtual slavery results. Too late they find that life under communism is in effect a guarantee of perpetual poverty for the masses.

The difference in the standard of living in some of the Oriental countries as compared with the United States is simply and vividly shown by a comparison made by Gerard Swope, former president of the General Electric Company, who visited Asia and the South Pacific in 1950. He gathered data on the length of time that an unskilled laborer must work in different countries to purchase certain commodities. Following is his report of the number of hours and minutes of unskilled labor necessary to buy one quart of milk, one dozen eggs, one pound of bread, and one pound of butter in the countries named:²

<i>Country</i>	<i>Earning Time Required</i>	<i>Comparison with United States</i>
United States	1 hour 28 minutes	1
Philippines	10 hours 40 minutes	7
Malaya	13 hours 52 minutes	9
India	14 hours 16 minutes	10
Ceylon	17 hours 15 minutes	12
Japan	19 hours 15 minutes	13
Indonesia	37 hours 48 minutes	26
Pakistan	48 hours 30 minutes	33

Thus, at the time of Mr. Swope's visit it required seven times as long for a laborer in the Philippines to earn the cost of these four items of food as it did in the United States; thirty-three times as long for a laborer in Pakistan. It is doubtful whether conditions are much, if any, improved today. The differential between these countries and the United States is probably greater in the case of a university professor or public school teacher than for an unskilled laborer.

² Swope, "Standards of Living in Asia," *Atlantic Monthly*, December 1950, pp. 55-56.

These economic factors affect the entire populations, particularly in those countries whose economies were dislocated or wrecked by the war. The value of the Japanese yen could not drop from thirty cents to less than one-third of a cent without causing violent hardships, particularly to the salaried classes. In an era of inflation, such as grips many of the Asiatic countries today, salaries always tend to adjust to higher levels of prices much more slowly than wages. And salaries of teachers are notoriously low and inadequate in most countries, even under normal conditions.

Under the prevailing debasement of currencies and disruptive inflation, salaries of university professors are often insufficient to furnish the barest essentials. In Japan it was reliably reported that in many cases 80 percent of their salaries was necessarily used for food. Many professors in Japan, in India, in Iran, in Egypt, and other countries were being forced to teach in two or three institutions, to engage in supplementary outside work (sometimes manual labor), and often to sell their most cherished possessions in order to secure food and other bare essentials for themselves and their families. Their condition was pitiable. Their standards of living were anything but professional.

Following were median monthly salaries (including allowances) for various university positions in Japan in March 1949:

<i>Position</i>	<i>National Universities</i>		<i>Private Universities</i>	
	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Yen</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
President	Y19,333	\$53.71	Y16,000	\$44.46
Professor	15,067	41.86	10,000	27.78
Assistant professor	12,013	33.37	9,500	26.39
Assistant	7,886	21.86	4,500	12.50

In May 1949 the salaries and allowances of the presidents of Tokyo and Kyoto Universities were raised from 21,171 yen to 33,046 yen. Translated into dollars this meant that the presidents of the two oldest and largest national universities in Japan received only the equivalent of \$92 per month, of which \$29 was taken by their income tax. And even this salary was a very recent increase from their former \$58 per month, the maximum salary (before deduction for income tax) of any president of a national university.

The inadequacy of such salaries is little short of tragic and cannot but cause discontent if not worse. It is not at all to be

wondered at that in some cases professors are ready to listen to the alluring assurances of communism.

Conversely there is the evidence of the British educational officer in Hong Kong, who reported that developing interest in communism on the part of teachers there vanished when a new and more nearly adequate salary scale was adopted.

But if economic conditions are bad for the average professor, the plight of many of his students is even worse. Instead of inadequate salary the student has no salary. His parents' resources have been diminished or wiped out entirely by war or inflation or both. He is faced by increases in tuition and other fees which, while modest in terms of the depreciated currency, are markedly higher than before. In many cases these increases have led to Communist-promoted strikes and violent protests, even though such increases may have been thoroughly justified from the viewpoint of the administration.

Student living conditions are distressing. Dormitories even when available, in Japan, in Indonesia, in India, and in other countries, had five or six students crowded into rooms intended for two. Conditions of student life in many universities visited by the writer were indescribably drab, distressing, discouraging, and unhealthy. The food was scanty, poorly prepared, and monotonous. Bursaries and other scholarship funds, once fairly adequate, were pitifully inadequate under inflationary conditions. The Japanese Education Reform Council says in unequivocal terms that "the miserable living conditions of the students reflecting the difficult economic situation of the nation, lie in the background" of all Communist activities on the part of the university students in the country.

It is scarcely to be wondered that students, in vigorous reaction to such intolerable conditions, have resorted to strikes and violence. In many cases, they say, conditions could not be worse. In India they are inflamed by a screaming four-column head in a Bombay Communist paper: "While Schools Close, Fees Increase, Teachers Starve in India, China is Quenching Thirst for Learning," and "Communists: Fathers of Every Progressive Movement." Another Bombay journal reports that American aid may not be "so philanthropic as it is paraded to be, but a hideous and

calculated scheme to chain the economics of the newly freed nations of Asia to the chariot wheels of 'dollar diplomacy'!" With the seeds of distrust of American democracy and the attractions of Communist countries before him, communism promises the student an easy way out of his difficulties.

Any change would be an improvement, he says. It is working well in Russia and China. Our papers tell us so. So do our friends who have visited there. Let us try it, at any rate. Thus they reason. Unfortunately they do not realize that under a Communist government they would lose their freedom of study and other basic freedoms and their economic condition would likely be worse, except for a favored few.

UNEMPLOYMENT

University students, graduating full of idealism, hope, and ambition to take their part in the lives of their recently liberated nations, often meet frustration instead of employment. University graduates in most of these countries feel they are entitled to white-collar jobs. But the number of such jobs, particularly in India, is much less than the increasing number of university graduates. In many cases university graduates, especially in countries which have been under British influence in the recent past, have received an education patterned very closely on British classical lines. They have not been satisfactorily fitted for positions in the industrial, commercial, technical, and agricultural life of their new nations—fields which are crying out for adequate leadership. We found this situation particularly in Japan, in Burma, in Indonesia, in Egypt, in Kenya. Mrs. Roosevelt, quoted in chapter 5, calls special attention to it in India. Such frustrated young people are a fertile field for growth of the insidious seeds of communism. These graduates are particularly dangerous, too, because their university training tends to fit them for lives of leadership among their fellows.

HEALTH

As a result of the abnormal economic conditions outlined above, health conditions have been poor in most of the Eastern countries. Disease has been rampant, infant mortality high, the span of life

short. Epidemics have been frequent and destructive. The average length of life in India and China is reported to be only twenty-seven years. In the United States it is more than sixty years, and steadily increasing. Half of all deaths in India occur before age ten; a quarter of them during the first year of life. Human life is one of the cheapest commodities in the Orient.

The World Health Organization and other agencies of preventative medicine and public health have done much in recent years to improve the situation. In Japan, under the health program sponsored by the occupation, the death rate was reduced from one of the highest in the world to one of the lowest. Smallpox, a former scourge, was virtually eliminated. Infant mortality was greatly reduced.

We may properly applaud these achievements in the field of health from the humanitarian standpoint, but from the point of view of cold economics they represent a further liability rather than an asset. For every baby saved, every life lengthened, means another stomach to be filled from an insufficient supply of rice or wheat. And every such aggravation of the economic situation has been an invitation to communism to take over.

NATIONALISM

Political discontent and unrest are characteristic of much of Asia and Africa today. The political climate is changing. As one writer expresses it, "There is a perpetual spring for blossoming nations and a frosty autumn for traditional European imperialism." Colonialism is dead or dying, and new areas are struggling to establish themselves as independent nations. In the last decade new birth or rebirth has come to the peoples of the Philippines, Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Ethiopia, and Libya—all countries which we visited. The total population of these newly emancipated countries is in excess of a half-billion souls. Nationalism and communism are interwoven in some of these countries. In many of them permanent and effective governments are not yet assured. Independence is still experimental and precarious. In some, strong Communist elements are clamoring for recognition if not for control. University students and professors are taking a prominent part in

such movements. Students in most of the countries visited are more politically conscious and active than the average American student.

In other countries visited, such as Japan, Malaya, Indo-China, Iran, Egypt, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan marked reorganization and change of status are in process. There is strong and active armed Communist resistance in Malaya and Indo-China. In still other countries, such as Kenya, Somalia, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco the forces of nationalism and independence are agitating with increasing vigor for a change in status. In such movements students have played a significant and sometimes leading part. Communist organizations have not been slow to annex these nationalistic movements and to assume leadership in them if permitted to do so.

In many of these countries democracy has started with a distinct handicap. Democracy is thought of as the political philosophy of the Western nations which many of these new nations and others struggling for independence have come to regard as imperialistic.

In some of these countries communism has been legally outlawed. This has not eliminated it, however—merely driven it underground. There is good reason to believe that clandestine Communist cells exist in most of the universities in countries where it has been officially banned and that they are receiving instructions, encouragement, and literature from abroad. They are distributing this literature judiciously but effectively. They are making plans for violent action when they are told the appropriate time has come.

RACIALISM

Racialism also unfortunately is an element in student drift toward communism in some countries. Students with dark skins sometimes meet racial discrimination when they go abroad for study in America or England. This encourages feelings of resentment and suspicion toward the Western nations which they have been taught to think of as “imperialistic” and interested only in “exploiting” the native populations of Asia and Africa for the material profit of the white intruder. Moreover, these young

men and women—thousands of them in London alone—are lonely strangers in a strange land and particularly susceptible and grateful for a friendly word or a helping hand. Communism, to its credit be it said, welcomes people of the colored races and makes unusual effort to make them feel at home. The lonely stranger does not realize that this is not simple friendliness but a deliberate, well-organized policy procedure. This is particularly true of London, where so many of the present Communist leaders of Asia and Africa, among them Kenyatta, Mau Mau leader in Kenya, received subtle and powerful indoctrination in Communist ideology first through the simple medium of social acceptance, later to be caught up, more or less unconsciously, in a tightly knit political organization.

What is the potential field for such influence, say in England alone? According to the 1954 *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook*, there were 8,277 foreign students (men 7,105, women 1,172) enrolled for full-time study or research in universities and colleges in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the academic year 1952-53. In addition, there is a large number of foreign students enrolled in technical and professional schools and institutions below university level, as well as a large but unknown number of part-time foreign students. The grand total of all foreign students in the United Kingdom may well be from 20,000 to 25,000.

Of the total of 8,277 overseas university students reported, 4,566 were from Asia and Africa.³ If the same percentage (55 percent) holds good for all types of educational institutions, the number of students from Asia and Africa in a current year might approximate 14,000, which may be taken as a tentative measure of the field for possible Communist influence.

Just what has been the Communist technique for dealing with overseas students in Britain, particularly in London? How successful has it been? Probably the man best qualified to answer this question is Douglas Hyde, for twenty years an active British Communist who became converted to Catholicism in 1948 and is now assistant editor of the weekly *Catholic Herald* in London. In 1952 and 1953 Mr. Hyde wrote a series of four articles, which were published in *Overseas* under the title "Stirring Up Trouble:

* For details by countries see Appendix B.

How the Kremlin Works in Britain's Dependencies." Mr. Hyde says in part:

Of all the jobs which the British Communist Party is expected to do for the cause of international Communism none is considered more important than that of training native leaders for carrying on the "revolutionary struggle" in colonial countries throughout the world.

And the leaders of the Kremlin recognize that, no matter in what other ways they may have failed, the British leaders' efforts to stir up trouble in India, Malaya, Burma, Africa and elsewhere have been outstandingly successful. . . .

. . . from the British capital there goes out a steady stream of Communist missionaries of the most effective kind—namely, of trained and indoctrinated men and women who are natives of the countries to which they are taking the inflammatory message.

Foremost among these are the students who come to London for higher education. . . .

In short, the shape of the future of West Africa may be determined . . . in the apartment houses where coloured students cook their meals over gas-rings and in the study groups where they are trained in Marxist leadership.

To inspire them and keep them patiently cultivating such men, the British Communists have the knowledge that the Chinese Communist Party, which has brought hundreds of millions to the side of Russia, is led by precisely such men, the ones who once studied in London, Paris, New York, or who learned their Communism from those who did.

"It was China yesterday. There is no reason why it should not be Africa and India tomorrow," they say. . . .⁴

"How do these eager young coloured students come to fall into the hands of the Communists, and what happens to them when they get there?" Mr. Hyde answers his question graphically and specifically. The lonely stranger, the volunteer seller of *The Daily Worker* (of which Mr. Hyde was an editor for a number of years) who makes a point of talking to him: how long has he been over, where is he lodging, what is he doing tonight? That is the beginning. The end is in Africa, or possibly Moscow.

London, Paris, New York according to Mr. Hyde, are "making Communists" in that fashion. More directly, institutions behind the Iron Curtain are now reaching out for the bright beginning

⁴ *Overseas* (London), November 1952, pp. 13–14.

revolutionaries. Prague, Bucharest, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania—and the Soviet Union itself—offer them scholarships, good hostels, opportunities.

In conclusion, and on a more optimistic note, Mr. Hyde gives credit to the recent and current efforts of the British Council to look after the social and economic welfare of the colored students by integrating them in student life and demonstrating the worth and attractions of democratic institutions and peoples.

"If one had to account, in a single phrase," says Douglas Hyde, "for the drift of so many of all types and nations to the Communist cause, I suppose the best way to put it would be to say that it is frustration above all else that sends them there. . . .

"Any attempt to combat the spread of Communism on a long-term basis must therefore aim at reducing those frustrations wherever possible. But it cannot be too 'long-term,' for things move quickly today."⁵

ILLITERACY

In the nations of the Orient and Africa, excepting Japan, illiteracy is distressingly high. UNESCO reports that half the people of the world can neither read nor write in any language. A large proportion of these are living in Africa, Asia, and the South Pacific. It is difficult to see how new nations, experimenting with democracy and the ballot, can develop permanent and satisfactory democratic governments on a basis of illiteracy and ignorance and resultant superstition. Illiteracy is estimated at 90 percent or higher among the seventy-three millions of Indonesia. Little effort was made by the Dutch during their three centuries of rule in the rich Dutch East Indies to establish schools for the masses. Illiteracy is almost as great in several other countries, and, according to UNESCO, Somalia, Africa, is 99.9 percent illiterate. In countries where illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition are rife, the people are likely to be easy prey to crafty and skillful Communist agents.

Only in Japan, of all Oriental and African countries, does the rate of literacy approximate that of Western Europe or America.

⁵ *Overseas*, January 1953, p. 20.

With a six-year compulsory school system well enforced for many years before World War II, Japan claims over 95 percent literacy.

LITERATURE

The former mayor of Bombay, M. R. Masani, says: "Empty minds and souls provide as good a breeding ground for communism as empty stomachs." Communism has not been slow to furnish ample food for the empty or inquiring minds and souls. For the literate university and secondary school students a mass of Communist literature is usually available. It circulates openly in many countries, secretly in others where it is officially banned.

A variety of attractive periodicals and books, profusely illustrated, are for sale for a trifle in many countries. They are published in the Soviet Union, in China, and in Czechoslovakia. They are printed in English and in many vernacular languages. Others are printed in the countries where they circulate, particularly in India and Ceylon.

Quotations from some of these periodicals will be given in chapter 5 since they were found in greatest abundance in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.⁶ Bookstalls near the universities were loaded with them, and they were freely bought and eagerly devoured by students. Through their pages students cannot fail to acquire distorted reports and half-truths about life and conditions in the United States and other democracies while conditions of life in the Communist countries are painted in the most glowing colors. Such materials, read week after week, are sure to have an effect on impressionable young minds.

ARAB POLITICAL ATTITUDES

As one travels westward from Iran into the distinctively Arab states of Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt, anti-American sentiment becomes increasingly evident, not primarily because of Communist ideology but because of disappointment and indignation at the attitude and actions of the United States on the Palestine question. To many Arabs, Zionism is a greater menace than communism. America unfortunately has incurred the hostility of

⁶ For other examples, see W. C. Eells, "How to Poison the Well," *Saturday Review*, Nov. 29, 1952, pp. 39-40.

much of the Arab world by her friendly attitude to the newly established state of Israel and the extensive economic aid which she has given to it. Communists have not been slow to capitalize on this feeling particularly among the university students in Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon.

To many such students as well as others, communism seems to offer the most effective immediate means of expressing their anti-American, anti-British, and anti-imperialism sentiments. This feeling is discussed in chapter 6 by President Penrose of the American University of Beirut, and Charles Malik, Lebanese Ambassador to the United States, both of whom are strongly pro-American but greatly disturbed by the anti-American feeling generated in the Arab world, with its forty million people; and both are particularly well qualified to analyze and interpret this feeling.

To the average Arab, Uncle Sam is no longer popular in the Middle East because he feels that Uncle has shown marked and unwarranted partiality to Israel in the unhappy situation which has resulted in the displacement of almost a million Arabs from the Palestinian homeland occupied by them for many hundreds of years. We ourselves saw something of the animal-like and hopeless existence of many of these in shadeless rocky refugee camps in neighboring Jordan. For many Arabs, Israel has become an unfortunate symbol of bad faith in international relations. Communists do not let them forget that the United States has never brought any influence to bear toward the enforcement of the plan for the partition of Palestine between Arabs and Jews officially approved by the United Nations.

It is important to remember that although the Communist party is officially banned in most Arab countries, the Communists, with characteristic adaptability, have managed to slip into various Arab groups of the extreme right rather than the left, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, the Neo-Destourien party in Tunisia, and the Istiqlal party in Morocco. Communist leaders in Italy have ascribed this development to the fact that Abdul Azzam Pasha, general secretary of the Arab League, once was a Communist himself and quietly tolerates the Red influx. The Muslim Brotherhood was outlawed in Egypt in January 1954 and its leaders arrested.

ISLAMIC ATTITUDES

In many of the countries which we visited, the Muslim population is the dominant element in the life of the country, as indicated by the following data:⁷

Country	Percent of Population Muslim	Country	Percent of Population Muslim
Somalia	99	Egypt	92
Zanzibar	99	Indonesia	90
Turkey	98	Pakistan	90
Iran	98	Tunisia	90
French Somaliland	97	Algeria	88
Jordan	95	Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	80
French Morocco	94	Syria	80
Iraq	93	Tangier	61
Spanish Morocco	93	Malaya	51
Libya	93		

There are almost three hundred million followers of the Prophet Mohammed in countries which we visited, stretching from Indonesia (with 69,000,000) westward across Asia and Africa to Morocco. Seventy million others are located in countries which we did not visit. For all of these the basic beliefs of Islam are diametrically opposed to those of Communism. It might be thought that Islam therefore would be a deterrent to communism. But it is not a strong enough deterrent to prevent many Muslim students from taking an active part in Communist demonstrations and other activities. This chapter seems an appropriate place, therefore, to consider briefly this supposedly negative influence.

Islam believes in one God, Allah; in his prophet Mohammed as the greatest and final messenger of Allah; and in the Koran as the revealed word of Allah. Compare these basic beliefs with the official *Statement to Communist Youth* issued at Moscow in 1946: "Dialectical materialism, the philosophy of Marxism and Leninism, and the theoretical foundation of the Communist Party are incompatible with religion. . . . As the Party bases its activities on scientific foundations, it is bound to oppose religion."

The situation with reference to students is well explained by

⁷ Harry W. Hazard, *Atlas of Islamic History* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 2-4.

Philip W. Ireland, of the United States Department of State, who says:

Contact with the West and with scientific and secular education has weakened the hold of the tenets of Islam. Among certain classes, communism with its emphasis on materialism, finds fertile ground. This is particularly true of students. With new fields opened up to them by their studies, and stirred as most of them are by the intoxication of nationalism, these youth are eager to find means of changing the social, economic, and political situation in their own countries, and at the same time find some rewarding place for themselves. Most of these students, fed up with the traditional programs of existing political parties, find no imaginative and constructive plans for action except those of the Communists, vigorously and logically presented. It is hardly surprising that so many students, often without adequate grounding in Western thought and culture, frustrated both on personality and patriotic levels, should find democracy lacking and communism acceptable. This is not a phenomenon in Muslim countries alone. . . . While Islam may be a deterrent to communism, it represents no real obstacle. We cannot lean back and feel comfortable about the situation.⁸

Ample evidence will be presented in the chapters which follow that while Islam may be theoretically at variance with communism, the latter has in fact won many adherents from among Muslims. In Iraq, for example, Communists are reported to number more than ten thousand, with their greatest strength among teachers, students, and minority groups. In East Pakistan, Communists are reported to have a well-organized membership of 7,000 or more, mostly among government servants and university students. Examples of their activity which for a time threatened the government of East Pakistan will be given in chapter 5.

In view of the factors discussed in this chapter perhaps the reader can better understand, even if he does not approve, the appeal of communism to many young men and young women of Asia and Africa. These young people are full of youthful ambition, patriotic hope, and eager idealism for the betterment of their countries. This idealism has been rudely and crudely shaken by

⁸ Philip W. Ireland, "Islam, Democracy, and Communism," in *Islam in the Modern World: Fifth Annual Conference on Middle Eastern Affairs*, sponsored by the Middle East Institute, March 9-10, 1951 (Washington: The Institute, 1951), pp. 73-74.

the irrefutable facts of their present struggle for an education under existing economic conditions. It is not surprising that many of them are ready to turn to communism or to any ism that promises relief and improvement. Rather is it surprising that more of them have not listened sympathetically to the claims of the great laboratory of Marxist ideology at the Kremlin.

2. Japan

ONE OF THE fundamental objectives of the occupation of Japan by the Allied Powers at the conclusion of World War II, as foreshadowed in the Potsdam Proclamation and stated more explicitly in the basic directives of the Far Eastern Commission, was the elimination of ultranationalistic and militaristic elements and influences—personnel, textbooks, curricula—from the educational system of Japan. This objective had been largely if not completely accomplished in the six years of the occupation under the wise leadership of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, General Douglas MacArthur. Sound bases for a democratic school system had been laid. Such an educational system is essential if the forms of “democrassie” in government are to prove permanent. A successful democracy necessarily must rest upon an educated citizenry—hence the importance of elimination from the Japanese school system of the ultranationalistic and militaristic elements by which it was prostituted in the decade preceding Pearl Harbor.

Concurrently, however, in the fertile field brought about by the unsettled and relatively harsh economic and social conditions of Japan and by its proximity to China, Korea, Indo-China, and Soviet Siberia, elements of an ideology of another type, even more dangerous to successful democracy, have developed. Small but vigorous minorities of teachers and students in secondary schools

and universities are avowed Communists, and a larger number are sympathizers or fellow travelers. Waves of Communist-inspired student strikes, disrupting normal university life, have swept the country. Small but intensely active, well-organized, and vigorous Communist cells are found in many higher educational institutions, particularly the older ones.

The Second United States Education Mission to Japan in its report of September 1950 pointed out that "one of the greatest weapons against Communism in the Far East is an enlightened electorate in Japan." Of course, it is the primary job of the schools of the country to develop such an enlightened electorate, recalling that it was Lenin, founder of the Soviet State, who said: "Give us the child for eight years, and it will be a Bolshevik forever." The Japanese Education Reform Council, a policy-forming body consisting of fifty of the leading educators of the country, considered "political activity of ideological deviation" (their euphemistic circumlocution for "communism") as one of the three "foremost problems" facing Japanese education at the end of the occupation.

Because of the basic importance of the problem, it is desirable to review briefly the general situation as regards communism in Japan, and then to consider especially its implications for education from the standpoint of the universities and other schools, of the Japanese Education Reform Council, of the Ministry of Education, and of other Japanese agencies, and the efforts of Civil Information and Education Section—the SCAP Section charged with responsibility for reforms of Japanese education—to influence the situation. Finally will be considered more recent developments since the end of the occupation.

The original liberal treatment of Communists in the country at the beginning of the occupation, when many of them were freed from long terms of imprisonment, was gradually restricted in various ways as they proved that they were unable or unwilling to exercise the freedom given them with any reasonable degree of restraint appropriate to the new democracy.

Thus, in June 1950 the Supreme Commander found it necessary to advise the Japanese government to remove from office the twenty-four members of the Central Committee of the Communist party and the seventeen leading members of the staff of the Com-

munist party daily newspaper the *Akahata* (Red Flag), and to disqualify them for holding any public office. Members of the Central Committee were ordered to report regularly to local authorities. Instead, many of them went into hiding to continue their activities surreptitiously, and some were reported to have escaped to the Asiatic continent. The next month the Supreme Commander ordered the indefinite suspension of *Akahata* for repeated violation of journalistic ethics. Subsequently several hundred other Communist publications in all parts of the country were suspended after investigation by the Japanese Attorney General's office.

Following such official restrictions on Communist influence and activities, other daily newspapers discharged hundreds of Communist employees from their staffs, and like action involving more than 100 employees was taken by the Broadcasting Corporation of Japan, which controls all Japanese radio stations. Since that time an estimated 10,000 Communists and fellow travelers have been dismissed from the motion picture, electrical, steel, machinery, coal, railway, express, shipbuilding, spinning, chemical, banking, and printing industries. The Japanese government similarly has dismissed some 2,000 office employees.

It is not surprising that communism has developed a considerable following among both teachers and students in the schools and universities of the country. Of all Japanese who have suffered through the war and who are suffering in the peace, none is deserving of more sympathy than the public school teacher. The shaping of the character and beliefs of the children was in the hands of shabby, often hungry, and sometimes discouraged men and women. It is small wonder that some became hopeless and turned to extremist solutions for their desperate problems of feeding and clothing themselves and their families. No wonder that some of them were ready to grasp at any promise of salvation, even if it was only a Red flag. The same may be said for many students, particularly in the universities. Economic conditions may partially explain, even if they do not justify, the Communist organizations that developed in Japanese education after the war.

When one thousand applicants for admission to the Law Department of Tokyo University were asked three years after the war to write an essay on "The Future of Japan," 70 percent favored

communism, 20 percent nihilism, and only 3 percent Christianity, reported one Christian Japanese pastor.¹ An American professor at the Institute for Educational Leadership in 1949 asked sixty-nine Japanese professors from all parts of the country to state in writing "the most important problems which affect education in Japan." They identified 140 such problems, but the one mentioned most frequently was "democracy vs. communism."²

The Japan Teachers Union, for a time strongly Communist in control, reported that it had purged all Communist elements from its leadership. Its most recent and extensive publications, however, still showed a strong party line. Since the conclusion of the occupation it has become even more militantly Communist, as indicated by its sponsorship of the film *Hiroshima*, described later in this chapter.

At the 1950 elections of 304 members of prefectural and local boards of education, for which there were 49 Communist candidates, it is significant that not a single one of them was elected, also that the vote for all Communist candidates was only 2.4 percent of the total vote for all candidates.

An important means of spreading positive democratic information has been the publication and distribution of almost eight million copies of the *Primer of Democracy*, written by a group of Japanese educators with the active support of occupation authorities. This work has been described as an outstanding indictment of communism and as a very effective countermeasure to the spread of Communist propaganda. It was vigorously attacked in Communist publications—an excellent recommendation for it!

Most of the formal Communist educational organizations, however, were found among the students, both on a local and national level. These included both regularly organized Communist cells and student government organizations, often Communist-dominated and controlled. In the spring of 1950 at least 130 student Communist cells, varying in membership from three or four to more than one hundred admitted members each, were registered in the office of the Japanese Attorney General. The total member-

¹ Floyd Shacklock, *Which Way Japan?* (New York: Friendship Press, 1949), 64 pp.

² E. F. Hartford, "Problems of Education in Occupied Japan," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, XXIII (1950), 471-81.

ship reported was 4,526, including more than a hundred professors. The Tokyo University cell was estimated to have more than 500 members. In March 1950 maintenance of this cell was formally banned by President Nambara of the university on the grounds that its influence was harmful to the educational work of the university, that its members showed no scruples at adopting any sort of means for their ends, and that it had a demoralizing effect upon university students. Other universities followed President Nambara's lead. Of course, this did not mean that these cells went out of existence, only that they were no longer recognized and given the privileges of other authorized student organizations. Instead, they went underground. In numerous cases they later distributed handbills frankly signed "Communist Cell of ——— University."

Allan B. Cole, an American professor at the International Student Conference at Tsuda College, in the summer of 1950, said that his seminar students estimated that 10 percent of the students on their campuses were members of the Communist party.³

The National Council of Women Students, after being somewhat buffeted by Communist elements which attempted to secure control at the organization meeting in 1949, showed promise of becoming a potent agency for training women students in democratic citizenship.

The All-Japan University Student Federation (Zengakuren), organized in 1948 and claiming a membership of more than 250,000 students in 396 units all over the country, has been the most potent student Communist organization. It has sponsored numerous student strikes, some only local, some on a nation-wide basis, in opposition to increases in tuition, a proposed law for control of universities, increased cost of living, discharge of Communist professors, semester examinations, colonization by a "foreign power," military bases in Japan, and on various other grounds, including as a favorite "promotion of world peace." Some of these represented legitimate student problems, although it may be questioned whether strikes were the best way of settling them. Others, however, were definitely opportunistic efforts to make capital of any basis for dissatisfaction that showed promise of becoming popular. Numerous instances were reported to the Civil Information and

³ Cole, "Children of a Vacuum," *Pacific Spectator*, IV (1950), 153-59.

Education Section in which non-Communist students had raised protests on what they considered legitimate nonpolitical issues, only to find themselves following Communist leadership almost before they were aware of it. Some of the Communist students hardly deserved the name of university students. They were more in the nature of professional agitators, with little interest in study and infrequent attendance at classes. Many frankly nonstudent Communist agitators also at times thronged university campuses to stir up trouble and create unrest.

Offices of Zengakuren in Tokyo and other key cities were raided by the police in July 1950 and thousands of anti-American handbills, maps showing locations of occupation forces, and other documentary evidence were confiscated under authority of a Cabinet Ordinance which forbade activities contrary to the objectives of the occupation. The activities of the organization and associated Communist cells reached a climax in May in the Tohoku and Hokkaido incidents, reported more fully below. There was little open activity during the summer vacation of 1950, but during this period the leaders were engaged in active planning. The first of September they issued a directive to all affiliated groups, summoning student members to return at once to their institutions and begin a determined fight against the threatened discharge of Communist professors, possible changes in university organization, and increases in tuition. Wholesale boycotting of their semester examinations in September was one method used, although it is difficult to see the logic of such action. Riotous demonstrations, in defiance of university regulations, occurred on the campuses of the leading Tokyo universities. They were particularly violent at Tokyo and Waseda Universities where hundreds of students from other universities and nonstudent Communist agitators joined thousands of local students in fomenting trouble. Communists and Communist-dominated groups directed picket lines and attempted to prevent students from entering examination halls or even from going onto the campus. Police were called in but proved unable to cope with the situation at Tokyo University. Better prepared, they arrested 143 students at Waseda University, 44 of them from other institutions, in what was reported as the "biggest campus riot ever seen in Japan."

The reaction of the public was almost uniformly unfavorable to these student excesses. Their objectives and their tactics were vigorously condemned by the press. For example, the *Nippon Times* (English language daily paper) in a leading editorial said:

The mob action led by Communist students at Tokyo University Friday is an example of the unprincipled methods the Reds would employ in an attempt to cow their meek professors and fellow students. . . . The Communist agents who call themselves students, moreover, have the impertinence to claim that they are defending academic freedom. By their actions they have demonstrated the very danger which democratic society faces today. Under the guise of safeguarding democracy they seek to destroy it. . . . The Red students have proved that there is need to insure that the enemies of democracy, receiving their orders from abroad, are not allowed to undermine academic freedom by remaining in responsible positions. With this proof, it rests upon the school authorities to take resolute action.

The authorities of the universities concerned met this and similar challenges by taking vigorous action to punish the ring-leaders. At Waseda University 101 students were expelled; at Tokyo, 17; at Hosei, 15; at Kyoto, 3. Many more students at these and other institutions were subjected to less severe disciplinary action. The Minister of Education threatened to dissolve Zengakuren if it continued its radical activities. In view of the strong adverse public reaction and the actions of university and police authorities, the organization called off its plans for a nation-wide series of strikes in October. An additional sobering influence was the announcement by the principal businesses and industries normally employing university graduates, that "no Communists or their sympathizers are wanted." In the spring of 1951, 70,000 students who were expecting to graduate from the universities were looking for employment. They soon discovered that the ideological qualification was the number one condition for employment in most companies. In view of these and other factors there was some evidence that the disturbing influence of Zengakuren was on the wane.

The Japanese Education Reform Council in September 1950, writing prior to the September excesses described above, summarized and analyzed the student political situation as seen by its members:

In the field of thought, the self-support movement of the students after the war has developed into a nation-wide organization, which has rapidly assumed a political and ideological tinge, taking concerted actions with outside political organizations. The movement has become more radical year after year, and the organization of the National Federation of Students' Autonomous Associations (Zengakuren) in 1948 gave further impetus to the movement, resulting in a wave of student strikes, which culminated at last in a nation-wide strike in the summer of 1949, called in correspondence with the general labor offensive. In parallel with this, the government has come to adopt measures to restrict or prohibit political movement in schools. . . . Dissolution of Communist cells and political associations on the school campus is also under consideration. During these disturbances a number of students and pupils have been suspended or expelled from school and later the Regulations for the Enforcement of the School Education Law have been partially amended adding a provision which legalizes the expulsion of students destructive to the order of the school. Nevertheless, the student movement is going on as rampant as ever, and it is threatening the destruction of school order, making it increasingly difficult to keep it under the control of school authority. Social conditions subsequent to war, influence of international situations, confusion of thought on the part of students, are the fundamental causes of these disturbances, but it cannot be denied that the miserable living conditions of the students and pupils reflecting the difficult economic situation of the nation lie in the background of all these troubles.

In 1948 several hundred Communist or allegedly Communist teachers in the elementary and secondary schools were advised to resign, and most of them did so. At least 246 of these were in Tokyo. Such action, however, was slower in the case of universities. The Ministry of Education in the autumn of 1948 issued mild instructions restricting what it euphemistically termed "political movements" in schools, following these a year later by more specific and vigorous instructions for the removal of known Communists from the staffs of the sixty-nine national universities then existing and for the elimination of student Communist cells. A considerable number of professors known or suspected to be Communists or Communist sympathizers were eliminated from Japanese universities, but usually indirectly and without raising directly the issue of communism.

The Minister of Education in December 1949 stated the basic principle for direct removal of Communists more clearly when he said: "If a member of the Communist Party is always controlled

in his conduct, and his thoughts, learnings, and studies are restricted by order of the Party, then that member of the Communist Party does not have real freedom of thought and freedom of study. Consequently he is not acceptable for university education, the mission of which is the freedom of thought, freedom of learning, and freedom of education."

University administrators for the most part were unwilling to take a positive and unequivocal stand. They feared the Ministry of Education; they feared the National Personnel Authority (equivalent to the Civil Service Commission in the United States); some of them, perhaps, feared for the possible safety of their own skins after the occupation was over.

The Japanese Association of University Professors, after prolonged debate at its annual meeting in October 1949, adopted a statement on academic freedom which said that the association was "unable to see the justice of depriving a professor of his status merely because of his membership in a political party," but advocated dismissal of Communist professors only who by overt acts "violate their own academic freedom by betraying in their utterances, writings, or guidance of students, partisanship in favor of some particular party or group."

The Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP did not support the restrictive policy stated by the Japanese Association of University Professors. Instead, it approved the stronger position taken by the American Educational Policies Commission in 1949 that Communists, by virtue of their membership in that party, are thereby unfitted to be teachers in the schools of the country. The situation admittedly had some elements of difficulty since the Communist party is legalized in Japan and has elected many members to the Diet,⁴ and academic freedom is guaranteed in the constitution of the country. A definite effort has been made to help Japanese educational leaders to distinguish clearly between political *rights* of all citizens in a democracy and fitness for the *privilege* of teaching in a university, and to show that Communist professors by joining the party have thereby surrendered their freedom to think independently.

The first detailed presentation of this doctrine was made by the

⁴ Of 466 members of the House of Representatives, 4 were Communists in 1947; 4 in 1948; 36 in 1949; 29 in 1950; 22 in 1951; 0 in 1952; 1 in 1953.

writer in his capacity as Adviser on Higher Education in an address at the opening of the new Niigata University in July 1949, which caused much interest and comment in university circles and resulted in vigorous opposition and demands by Communist student groups in the universities for withdrawal of the doctrine. The same doctrine of academic freedom was restated, expanded, and defended in a series of university conferences carried on from November 1949 to May 1950. During these six months, two and part of the time three members of the Education Division staff spent the greater part of their time in a series of two-day conferences with faculty and students of the universities of the country. Thirty such conferences were held in as many different prefectures, attended by representatives of 138 universities, including some 3,000 professors and more than 20,000 students. Topics considered at these meetings included academic freedom and communism, curriculum organization, teaching methods, student government, student living conditions, faculty-student relationships, and problems of health and physical education. These conferences were undertaken with the underlying conviction that efforts merely at suppression of communism would prove to be relatively ineffective, that a positive approach of substitution of desirable interests and activities and improved student-faculty relationships would, in the long run, be much more effective and permanent.

The address of the writer on "Academic Freedom and Communism" at these thirty conferences aroused the opposition of the small but well-organized and vigorous Communist cells in many of the universities at which they were held. He was often interrupted by boos and catcalls, by shouts of "liar," "enemy of democracy," and "warmonger." His address was the object of frequent hostile attacks in circulars and handbills, widely distributed by members of the Communist cells at these conferences. In some of the universities, however, and notably in several of the former imperial universities, the opposition was even more disorderly, culminating in May 1950 in the Tohoku and Hokkaido University "incidents."

At Tohoku University, located at Sendai in northern Honshu, the three representatives of the Education Division were prevented from speaking at all by an unruly group of perhaps a score

of Communist students in an audience of close to a thousand. At first they challenged the president of the university, who was presiding, as to the purpose and organization of the meeting. Then when the writer was introduced and attempted to speak, he was drowned out in a chorus of catcalls, jeers, and demands for the answers to questions. The confusion continued and grew worse for almost an hour when the wire to the microphone was cut and the meeting broke up in disorder. Subsequently five students were arrested, some of the leaders were expelled, and others were suspended.

At Hokkaido University, in the city of Sapporo, on Japan's large northern island, the exterior of the auditorium had been plastered with Communist posters and placards in both Japanese and English. When the writer asked a professor for a translation of some of the Japanese ones, he declined on the grounds that "they are too bad!" Yet the authorities had permitted them to remain. One at the entrance of the auditorium read:

NO MORE HIROSHIMAS
NO MORE EELLS

The initial meeting of the series was at first prevented by a barricade of lumber and ladders and a mob of students in front of the doors of the auditorium. A non-Communist student who attempted to enter was severely bitten by a Communist guard. Finally, however, after almost an hour's delay, the president of the university "appeased" the students by promising them the privilege of attendance at a later session of the conference which had been planned for professors only.

Later this conference for professors, at which some three hundred professors and five hundred students were in attendance, was also broken up by a small group of Communist students led by an instructor in the Faculty of Agriculture. At this session after considerable delay, caused by demands from the students that they be allowed to participate actively in this conference, the writer began an address on the improvement of methods of teaching in universities.

In a few minutes the dozen members of the executive committee of the Communist group, led by the young instructor in agriculture, rose noisily from their seats in the front of the room and

withdrew, evidently to consider further tactics. While the writer continued his discussion, a huge banner was suspended from the balcony on the left side of the auditorium as close as possible to the platform. In large black characters it read (in Japanese): "The school authorities promised to let us discuss things freely. Those who do not keep this promise are the enemies of democracy."

In perhaps twenty minutes the members of the executive committee returned. As they entered the auditorium another even larger banner was suspended from the balcony on the right side, again as near the platform as possible. In large black characters appeared the message: "Let us discontinue this round table conference. But do not leave the room." It was quite evident that these large banners must have been prepared well in advance for use at the meeting.

The members of the executive committee, led by the young instructor, marched noisily up the center aisle, jumped on the platform, pushed aside the speaker and his interpreter, forcibly took over the microphone, and one of the leaders started to harangue the students amid shouts and cheers and general disorder. The chairman was unable or unwilling to restore order. Soon the meeting broke up in confusion. An attempt to continue it in another auditorium was prevented by students who blocked the entrances. Later the students published their boastful claim, "We completely squashed Dr. Eells's irresponsible utterances."

Subsequently, after much investigation and deliberation the faculty of the university recommended to the president that nine of the ringleaders in the disturbances be expelled and that the Communist cell be dissolved. These recommendations were approved by the president and deans of the faculties. Following the announcement of these punishments, a four-hour meeting, attended by about a thousand students, was held in the university auditorium. Approximately six hundred of the students voted to strike in protest against the action of the university authorities.

No better examples are needed than the Tohoku and Hokkaido incidents thus briefly described to show the way in which small but well-organized and determined Communist minorities can thwart the will of the majority and can prevent and destroy the

academic freedom which they profess to be defending in their universities.

SINCE THE OCCUPATION ENDED

Since the peace treaty went into effect and the occupation was completed, it has not been so easy to secure authentic information concerning Communist conditions in Japan. In August 1953 the governor of Tokyo, Seiichiro Yasui, is reported in the press to have said that the fear of communism is shrinking. He considers that there are only 100,000 militant Communists in the country. Shortly after the May Day riots in Tokyo in 1952 the publisher of the *Nippon Times* said that such riots would not occur again in Japan. He has been right to date. The elections held soon after for the House of Representatives of the national Diet resulted in defeat for every Communist candidate. A reliable correspondent, formerly associated with the writer in educational work in Japan, states that activities among university students and faculties that are clearly left wing have continued but without riots or strikes and that Communist influence on university campuses undoubtedly has lessened.

On the other hand, in February 1954, according to an Associated Press dispatch, Goichiro Fujii, chief of Japan's security investigation board, told the Diet that there were 100,000 Communist party members in the country, organized in 5,470 known cells; that 70 percent of the total membership were young men and women in their twenties; that about one-fifth of the membership were women.

The unwholesome activities of the powerful Japan Teachers Union have also increased. This organization, formed in 1947 from a merger of competing unions, claimed two years ago a membership of 550,000, of which 450,000 were public school teachers. Many public school teachers stated before the occupation was over that they were not free to join or not to join as they might prefer because pressure which they could not resist was brought to compel membership. The Japanese Teachers Union has tended to be dictatorial in structure and operation rather than democratic. Decisions are commonly made at the national level without consultation with local or prefectural units. Decisions so made are sent out as absolute directives. In an important *White Paper on*

Education issued by the union in May 1950 is found a distinct Communist trend, including the statement that "bourgeois democracy" will not solve Japan's educational problems.

Since the conclusion of the occupation the Teachers Union has taken a much stronger Communist and anti-American position. This is well illustrated by its sponsorship of the recent film *Hiroshima* and other propaganda films. The story is best told, perhaps, by a quotation from a news story which appeared August 27, 1953, simultaneously in the important *Asahi Shimbun*, one of the "big three" of Tokyo dailies, and the English-language *Tokyo Evening News*. The latter said:

The Japan Teachers Union yesterday was making plans for independent distribution of its "Hiroshima" movie which the Shochiku Company refused to distribute because of the strong anti-American tendency of the picture.

Shochiku had cooperated in the production by releasing one of its stars to appear in the film free of charge and by lending its theatres in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Fukuoka for preview screenings. After the preview, Shochiku backed out of distribution arrangements, unless three most outspokenly anti-American passages are deleted from the film. They are:

1. In the beginning, the reading of a "confession" by the American pilot whose plane carried the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima;
2. The statement that America used the Japanese as "guinea pigs";
3. At the end, the statement that the skulls of A-bomb victims should be dug up and sold to Americans.

Attaching great importance to these passages, a spokesman for the Japan Teachers Union yesterday claimed that making these three cuts would be "like killing the picture itself."

The spokesman claimed that Shochiku was first "enthusiastic" about the picture and was now looking for a "pretext" to back out under pressure from government and motion picture circles.

Shochiku officials said they objected to the film because it carried anti-Americanism too far and was too gruesome for showing to children.

Further light on this project of the Teachers Union is furnished by the leading editorial the same day in the *Tokyo Evening News*. This says:

The news that five major motion picture companies have refused to distribute the film, "Hiroshima," unless certain anti-American sequences are eliminated, is a refreshing indication that at least a degree of good sense has survived in the film industry in Japan.

Whatever the real reason, whether a realization that the boom in peddling anti-Americanism has collapsed, making further profits in that line unlikely, or whether the decision was motivated by a desire to avert another assault on Japanese-American relations, the result is salutary. . . .

It is possible that "Hiroshima" is so blatantly a Communist propaganda vehicle that the film officials chose not to permit their theaters to be used as tools of subversion.

Advance notices concerning the movie, which was produced at a cost of 16,000,000 yen^a by the Japan Teachers Union, indicated that for sheer horror and anti-American content, "Children of the Atom Bomb" and "Tower of Red Star Lilies" would by comparison look like products of the United States Information Service.

Upon learning of the companies' decision, a spokesman of the JTU is reported to have said that cutting the sequences in question would nullify the intended effect of the film. If the effect intended is the same as in most of the other activities of the JTU, it is subversive and certainly should be nullified. . . .

We wonder, however, whether the JTU will succeed, as it did in the case of "Children of the Atom Bomb" in obtaining for "Hiroshima" the blessing of the Education Ministry, in effect making the film required viewing for all school children. Perhaps in that way, the JTU will succeed in recouping its 16,000,000 yen investment.

It must be admitted, however, that we feel little sympathy for JTU's having gotten into its present plight, for its record in the past has been characterized principally by attempts to lure the school children of Japan into the ways of communism.

And as a matter of fact, since Russia's successful explosion of a hydrogen bomb makes the eight-year-old atomic bombing of Hiroshima a little pale by comparison, we would suggest that for its next venture into movie propaganda, the JTU take as a theme the possible future Russian hydrogen-bombing of Tokyo.

A week later the press reported that the Hiroshima Prefectural Teachers Union had decided to break off negotiations with the Shochiku Motion Picture Company and handle the distribution of the controversial film by themselves in collaboration with the Japan Teachers Union.

The Teachers Union of Yamaguchi Prefecture recently produced an almanac for the edification of its students and teachers with a "thought for each day" on American imperialism.

At the last convention of the Japan Teachers Union, resolutions

^a Approximately \$45,000.

were passed which were clearly anti-American, favoring the abolition of the Japanese military budget, the abolition of American military bases, and the abolition of all the approximately 10,000 local boards of education provided for during the occupation. The union also announced plans for a national education meeting with the following purposes: To oppose education for preparing for war and militarism, to abolish "colonial" education and culture, to restore education to the hands of the peace-loving public, to promote a national movement for defense of education, to publish the facts about the destruction resulting from the peace treaty and the security treaty, and to protect Japanese youth from colonial control and preparation for war. It should be remembered in reading these purposes of the proposed meeting that "colonial" is the thinly disguised synonym for Americanism which has appeared in all Communist propaganda since the beginning of the occupation. That such a powerful educational organization has taken such a hostile attitude is distinctly disturbing. There seems to be no adequate counter-influence in sight. The Minister of Education, Shigeru Odachi, indicated recently that the government will propose a legislative ban on political activities on the part of teachers, but it is doubtful if this will seriously affect the program of the Teachers Union, organized as it is on such an autocratic basis.

The facts presented in this chapter indicate that the fight against communism has not yet been won, either in Japan as a whole or in the educational system of the country—any more than it has in the world outside Japan. But distinct progress has been made in Japanese universities and other parts of the educational system. The issues have been more clearly defined. Japanese educators have become keenly aware of the basic issues involved. The elimination of Communist elements, inconsistent with a democratic educational system, has made some progress, but there are strong contrary influences at work as well, particularly since the end of the occupation. Eternal vigilance will be necessary if communism is to be kept out of the schools of Japan.

3. Southeast Asia

HONG KONG MACAO FORMOSA SINGAPORE
MALAYA THAILAND INDO-CHINA BURMA

UNDER THE general designation of Southeast Asia will be included reports on Hong Kong, Macao, Formosa, Singapore, Malaya, Thailand, Indo-China, and Burma. In most of these countries, with their combined population of over eighty million, the menace of communism is an ever-present reality. Active Communist influence is found in many fields—economic, political, social, and educational. In 1951 and early 1952 the writer visited all of these countries, some of them unfortunately rather briefly, saw a variety of schools, talked with various educational leaders, and studied local publications.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong, the British crown colony, borders for seventeen miles on Communist China. It is only ninety miles from the great South China city of Canton. By land as well as by the hundreds of junks by sea there is a constant traffic in foodstuffs necessary for feeding the population of more than two million people in Hong Kong. It is impossible to prevent traffic also in forbidden goods—gold, narcotics, and gasoline. It is even less possible to prevent traffic in Communist ideas through individuals crossing the border and through the Communist newspapers which come in daily from Canton and from other propaganda publications

which are imported quite freely. The educational authorities are attempting to prevent the circulation of Communist literature and development of Red influence in the schools—with only partial success.

Several Hong Kong newspapers are frankly Communistic and several bookstores are devoted primarily to Communist literature. They are usually crowded with young people who pore over the pictures of utopian life in the Soviet Union. To counteract this influence, at least in part, Hong Kong was chosen by a score of organizations and agencies for the establishment of a Council on Christian Literature for Chinese Overseas. This choice was based upon the phenomenal concentration in the colony of Chinese refugees from the mainland.

Hong Kong University, established in 1911, was closed during the war, and its buildings were looted and gutted by the Japanese conquerors. When we visited it in May 1951, reconstruction had been going on for the preceding four years, and the first class had just graduated from the reopened institution. It is interesting in passing to note that Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, when he revisited Hong Kong in 1923, said: "Hong Kong and its University are my intellectual birthplace. My fellow students, you and I have studied in this English colony, and in this English university. We must carry this English example of good government to every part of China." Perhaps this ambition thus hopefully expressed a quarter-century ago may still be realized although the prospects today for such penetration of the iron curtain (or of the bamboo curtain as it is sometimes spoken of locally) are by no means bright. Instead it is possible that Red ideas are being sponsored at the university, a majority of whose students are Chinese.

In accordance with British usage the official head of the university, the chancellor, is the governor of the colony, but this position is purely formal and honorary. The active administrative head is the vice-chancellor, Dr. L. T. Ride. "I am not naïve enough to think that there are no Communists among our 700 students," said Dr. Ride to the writer, "some of whom have entered the university from the mainland, particularly from Canton. But I know of no direct Communist activity on the part of any of our students. If

there is such, it is undercover." Dr. Ride stated that many of the Chinese students have come from Malaya and Singapore, the sons of wealthy capitalists, who realize they have everything to lose under a Communist regime. As to faculty members he said: "We had one avowedly Communist professor, but he has gone to Peiping. We have one other who is under suspicion. We hope he will decide to go to Peiping also." Dr. Ride felt it unwise, however, to force the issue by discharging this man. Such action might have done more harm than good in the tense atmosphere of Hong Kong.

Hong Kong University, in common with all other British colonial universities, has used the English language as the medium of instruction. But in 1952, because of the unprecedented conditions then existing, a committee which had been appointed in 1951 by the governor of the colony recommended a major change in policy—the offering of degree courses in which the medium of instruction would be the Chinese language. In Hong Kong, the committee found, there were each year about a thousand candidates for university education, graduates of the local Chinese middle schools, who formerly had gone to Canton and other mainland universities. In addition there was a large but unknown number of refugee students from Red China. "The demands for higher education from this body constitute a human problem of the first magnitude," said the committee.¹

The university has decided, if necessary funds are provided by the government, to institute courses using Chinese as the medium of instruction in the Arts Faculty but not for the present in the Faculties of Medicine, Science, Engineering, or Architecture. The earliest that the new plan can be introduced will be the fall of 1954.

The needs of Chinese students, with which Hong Kong is crowded, led the United Board for Christian Colleges in China (New York) and the Asia Christian Colleges Association (London) to inaugurate special scholarship funds in 1952 for the assistance of such students. A year earlier the former board contributed \$20,000 toward the establishment, as a measure of temporary

¹ "Higher Education in Hong Kong: Chinese Teaching at the University," *Times Educational Supplement* (London), Oct. 3, 1952, p. 801.

relief, of Chung Chi (Worship Christ) College, which opened in Hong Kong in September 1951. In September 1952 it had an enrollment of 235 students. An anonymous source has donated 20 full scholarships at Chung Chi College for needy students who have escaped from the mainland.

Of schools of less than university level, Hong Kong has 32 supported and controlled by the government, 300 aided financially by the government although privately controlled, and some 600 purely private schools, most of them of a proprietary nature, although all are subject to government inspection. The private schools provide education for approximately two-thirds of the school population. Many of these are night schools, primarily for young employed adults. According to the educational authorities, these night schools can be and undoubtedly are used for propaganda of a political nature, often under the guise of economics or political science. One of the most notorious of these is (or, more accurately, *was*) the South China Night School, mentioned more fully below.

Mr. D. J. S. Crozier, with 20 years of educational experience in the colony, was the newly appointed Director of Education, a man of dynamic personality, who talked freely regarding the problem of communism in the schools. He said:

"The problem is a difficult one, with more than 800 schools under our jurisdiction. If we could control the training of our teachers, the problem would not be great, but many of them have come to Hong Kong from Canton. Some, of course, have come to escape from Red domination and to preserve their own academic freedom, but there is no doubt that others have been sent for propaganda purposes. Many of them are satisfactory, but some of them are at least doubtful.

"Our department has the power by legislation," continued Mr. Crozier, "to close schools (1) for inefficiency of instruction, or (2) for influences inimical to the welfare of the colony. We are watching several schools carefully and inspecting them frequently. I have just closed a particularly obnoxious one, the South China Night School, where there was plenty of evidence of Communist activity and also the equipment was poor and the instruction notably inefficient. Technically, therefore, I could and did close it

on the grounds of inefficiency. But this resulted in a prompt and agonized cry of protest from Peiping and in vigorous criticism of me and of my action on the part of the two local Communist daily newspapers. My decision has been appealed by the owners of the school, as is their right, and the case on appeal is being heard this morning by the governor."

Mr. Crozier did not seem to be particularly worried over the outcome of the appeal. Subsequent inquiry a week later from his assistant indicated that Mr. Crozier's action had been sustained. But the department was sure there were other schools where Communist doctrines were being taught for which it had not yet been possible to secure enough legal evidence to warrant closing them.

A dozen or more private schools have been flying the Communist flag, particularly on Communist holidays, but the department has not felt it wise to forbid this type of activity. Some of these schools doubtless feel that is a wise precaution when and if the colony should be taken over by Communist forces from the mainland as probably could be done any time that Mao and his advisers feel that Hong Kong is worth more to them under direct control of his government than as a connecting link with the free world outside.²

Mere suppression of Communist schools, Mr. Crozier feels, is not the most effective way of dealing with the problem. He stated that he had enough evidence to warrant closing two or three more, but felt that this would merely scatter the evil. He preferred to keep it together where his inspectors could watch it. He also wanted to wait until he could offer the students a better substitute. For example, he described the recent organization of a night school, staffed by many refugee professors, which was giving really superior courses. "Hundreds of young men from eighteen to thirty years of age," he said, "flocked to it and its classes were crowded. These students were no longer interested in the poor and shoddy

² An interesting sidelight on Communist and anti-Communist sentiment in Hong Kong in 1953 was reported by *Time* for Oct. 19, 1953. On Oct. 1, the fourth anniversary of the Red conquest or "liberation" of China, some 2,500 five-starred Communist flags were displayed in Hong Kong. On Oct. 10, ten days later, on the Nationalist anniversary (called "Double Ten" because the Chinese Republic was proclaimed on the tenth day of the tenth month) an estimated 150,000 Nationalist flags were displayed in the colony.

education they had been receiving in such institutions as the South China Night School."

Another positive way to combat Communist influence in the schools, according to Mr. Crozier, is through improvement of the economic conditions of the teaching staff. The previous year a teachers association was organized in the New Territories (the section of Hong Kong Colony on the mainland and directly adjacent to Red China) which was distinctly subversive in character. "But we managed to get a new salary scale adopted over there," said Mr. Crozier, "and the new association quickly collapsed for lack of interest. I feel that the real reason that many teachers are flirting with communism is economic, not ideological."

Mr. Kong Mon Som is president of the privately operated, efficient Tak Ming College in Kowloon, across the harbor from Hong Kong proper. He stated that of 150 teachers in his institution it had been necessary the previous year to discharge 10 because of their Communist beliefs and activities. "We do not know of any more now," he said, "but if we learn of any, we will get rid of them promptly. I know of no Communist activity among our students."

The situation is somewhat anomalous, since Great Britain has formally recognized the Communist government in Peiping. Why then should not schools and literature representing that recognized government be permitted to exist freely in Hong Kong? The answer of local authorities is that Britain may recognize that government as a legal entity without approving its tenets and activities. Practically, the local education authorities have adopted a somewhat liberal attitude but with continued careful observation on the part of a staff of competent inspectors.

In his presidential address, Mr. Lim Hoy Lan, president of the Hong Kong Teachers Association, said to the members:

I should be failing in my duty if I allowed this occasion to pass without warning you against lending your ears to seductive political propaganda and against teaching politics to your pupils. Professional agitators, knowing that you are not wholly satisfied with your economic lot, will try to make you believe that with the establishment of a new social order, hunger and poverty will be abolished from the face of the earth. When they have succeeded in making you their dupes, they will endeavor to make you their tools to deceive your pupils with false

doctrines of a materialistic philosophy. We have no business to teach our pupils politics. Besides, neither Hong Kong nor China needs any more politicians. There are already too many of them. We can, however, do with a few good statesmen who can find a solution to the social and economic problems confronting every nation today. But these cannot be produced by sowing in the schools the seeds of prejudice, intolerance, and class hatred.

And a writer in the *Journal* of the Hong Kong Teachers Association expressed himself thus:

Today we have a thing called Communist "education." It is dyed a violent red, the red of blood. It is in vogue in many countries and is beginning to reach and trickle over the borders of Hong Kong. When education is colored red, its advocates allow in the classrooms and textbooks only the ideas, facts, and principles which certain men in the Kremlin have carefully selected to further their own pet notions. Histories are rewritten to conform with those notions. Facts are suppressed or twisted. . . . Hatred, suppression of truth, narrowmindedness: these are the evils that we must guard against in our own schools in Hong Kong today.

Mr. Crozier's predecessor, Mr. T. R. Rowell, has thus defined the educational policy of the colony: "The policy has been to permit freedom of thought and politics to the teacher provided he does not indulge in active propaganda or political teaching in his school. While this policy is ideal, it can be, and is, defeated by the paid political indoctrinator. The schools are the most vulnerable points of attack for communism, and full advantage is being taken of it. Even the acute awareness of the Education Department and its increased vigilance through surprise inspections can do no more than hold it at bay."

This then, in a nutshell, appears to be the policy of Hong Kong in regard to communism in the schools—"to hold it at bay."

Macao

Forty miles away from Hong Kong, an easy three hours' sail across the broad estuary of the Pearl River, is the picturesque and historic little Portuguese colony of Macao. Unlike Hong Kong, Macao is not an island but a small peninsula, two and a half miles long and half as wide in its widest place. It is connected with the

mainland by a very narrow isthmus on which is located a barrier gate, an arch spanning the single roadway to Red China. History records that China gave this tiny peninsula to the Portuguese four hundred years ago (1557) in return for their services in ridding the district of pirates. With a normal population of 200,000, prevalingly Chinese (tripled during the war), Macao is the only spot in the Far East that was not occupied by Japan during the Pacific war.

Education is almost entirely in the hands of Catholic mission groups who maintain several colleges, convents, industrial schools, and orphanages. The oldest of these, Seminario San José, dates from 1620—sixteen years before Harvard College was founded. No evidence was found of Communist influence in any of these schools. There is, of course, much traffic and commerce between Macao and Red China both by land and by water, and such traffic most certainly includes plenty of Communist literature and ideas, but the schools seem to have kept free of it, except possibly for some of the private Chinese schools.³

Formosa

As everyone now knows, Formosa ("Island Beautiful," according to the sixteenth-century Portuguese), or Taiwan ("Terraced Bay," according to the Chinese and Japanese), is the sole remaining Chinese-controlled citadel of anti-Communist China. When Formosa was returned to China in 1945, after the surrender of Japan in World War II, the Japanese educational system which had been in operation for a half-century was abolished as an initial step in the reorganization of Formosa's schools. Today, according to the Minister of Education, four-fifths of the more than a million children of school age are in school.

The climax of the educational system is the National Taiwan University, under the presidency of Dr. Chien Shih-liang (a Ph.D. in chemistry from the University of Illinois). This institution claims now to be the "only free university of China." Its six constituent

³ The same *Time* story mentioned in the footnote on page 41 reported that 67 Communist flags were flown in Macao on "liberation" day, 5,000 Nationalist flags on Double Ten day.

colleges enroll more than three thousand students. Asked regarding possible Communist influence in the university, President Chien stated that there were no known Communists—either among the professors or students. Communism is a capital crime in Formosa. “Any suspected Communists have been ‘persuaded’ to change their loyalties, or have been eliminated,” was his grim explanation. The same story was told by the presidents of the two teachers colleges, one for men and one for women. Both said they knew of no Communist activities in their schools.

Dr. Cheng Tien-fong, Minister of Education, had a slight modification to report. He said that in one of the government colleges were one professor and two students who were avowed Communists. But they had acknowledged their belief openly and had faithfully promised that they would not propagandize in any way or follow any Communist party instructions. On this condition they had been permitted to remain, but were under continued government surveillance. It is not at all healthy to be a Communist in Formosa today.

Interesting to observe was the impressive May Day celebration and parade of 60,000 labor representatives and students from many of the schools in Taipeh, the capital city. Its significance was explained to the writer by a professor in the government engineering college, who was a graduate of Oberlin College. Hundreds of banners were carried through the streets with slogans inscribed in Chinese and in English. A few samples: “Hoist the Iron Curtain,” “Shackled Workers of the Mainland, Arise,” “Down with the Bandit Regime of Chinese Sovietism,” “Oppressed Workers of the Mainland, We Are Coming to Your Rescue,” “Wipe Out Communist Butchers of Our Brothers on the Mainland.”

Following the forced closing of all Christian colleges in Red China, as described later in chapter 10, the United Board for Christian Colleges in China developed plans for the establishment of a Christian college in Formosa, in addition to Chung Chi College in Hong Kong, already mentioned. After the transfer of the capital of Nationalist China to Taipeh, a regulation was made forbidding the organization of any private schools in Formosa in order to prevent a possible source of dangerous Communist infiltration. After full explanations by the executive secretary of the

board, who made a trip to Formosa for the purpose in the summer of 1952, an exception was made to this regulation and full approval of the proposed Christian college was granted by the government. The new institution to be known as Tunghai University is scheduled to open in the autumn of 1954.

It is hoped that these two new institutions in Hong Kong and Formosa will meet in part the needs of many of the young overseas Chinese from Southeast Asia and Indonesia who formerly enrolled in the Christian colleges of the mainland for higher education, and that they will offset, at least in part, the efforts of the government of Red China to attract these young people to the Communist universities of the country.

Singapore

The legal restrictions on communism are very severe in the crown colony of Singapore and the closely related nine states and two settlements of the new Federation of Malaya, covering the Malay Peninsula southward from Thailand. These restrictions follow the proclamation of the "emergency," which occurred in June 1948, in an effort to combat the increasingly lawless and alarming activities of the "bandits," as the thousands of armed Communist outlaws are known locally. Travel is not safe a few miles outside the principal cities and towns of the federation. Terrorism, train-wrecking, robbery, and murder are almost daily occurrences. Rubber plantations and tin mines have been turned into armed camps and miniature fortresses. Vigorous efforts have been made to suppress the bandit bands, but it has been difficult to reach them and wipe them out when they have taken refuge in the jungles and mountain fastnesses of the peninsula.

The educational situation in Singapore, with its million inhabitants, is complicated by the fact that while three-fourths of its inhabitants are of Chinese birth or ancestry, substantial elements of the population are also Malayan or Indian, in addition to the small but influential group of European officials and businessmen. Schools, therefore, are maintained for the different groups with four languages used as the language of instruction in the different schools—English, Chinese, Malay, and Tamil.

The University of Malaya is a new institution, organized in October 1949. Its nucleus is the former King Edward VII Medical College dating from 1905 and Raffles College, formally opened in 1929. Plans have been developed for a new campus in the neighboring Federated State of Johore, some twenty-five miles from Singapore, since the new university is designed to meet the higher educational needs of the entire peninsula, not of Singapore alone. Dr. V. G. Allen, the first vice-chancellor, formerly principal of the medical college, stated to the writer that to his knowledge there was no problem as yet of any Communistic influences among faculty or students.

As is the case in Hong Kong, so also in Singapore only a small proportion of the 530 recognized schools are maintained by local government funds—66 according to the latest annual report. Ninety-five more, primarily mission schools, are aided by government funds, while 369 (70 percent of the total number) are privately maintained. The opportunity for Communist infiltration, especially in the privately maintained Chinese schools, is evident.

Mr. A. W. Frisby, recently appointed Director of Education, has entered upon a vigorous five-year plan designed to provide opportunities for free public education for all children in the colony. This involves the construction of eighteen new buildings each year and the training of teachers to staff them—no small undertaking for a city the size of Singapore.

Mr. Frisby talked interestingly for an hour of his plans and of the problems connected with them—including of course the vital problem of Communist activities and methods of combating them. "The president and secretary of the teachers," he said, "have been arrested for subversive activities and are now awaiting trial for their alleged offenses. I have found it necessary to close several schools, including a Chinese secondary school and a Chinese girls school. Great piles of Communist literature were found when we raided their buildings, and other evidences of misuse of these schools for Communist purposes were found. Our force of inspectors is now sufficient to keep a closer check on the Singapore schools, and the situation outwardly is calm, but we do not know what day more trouble may break out."

Out of a school population of 143,000 in Singapore in 1950, the

attendance at Chinese language schools was 76,000, of which 40 percent was girls. This fact gives much food for thought, since none of the Chinese schools is a government school. More than any other section of the system, they tend to preserve communal differences and a culture foreign to the island at the expense of a unified civic consciousness. There are a few schools which try to make the best of both worlds, but the conflicting claims of loyalty to the motherland, now Communist-controlled, and to their present home are at times irreconcilable. The large majority of Chinese schools are managed by committees which may be organized on village, regional, association, or public lines. Mr. Frisby continued:

"The Chinese community has always shown great interest in education, and it is natural that their early impulse should have been to provide it on national lines. In the rapidly changing political situation today, special steps have to be taken to insure that institutions which started as examples of individual or commercial benefaction should not become the instruments of unscrupulous political agencies.

"Since 1911 the Chinese have founded many schools to give their children a modern education in their own tongue. There have also grown up, increasingly, numbers of schools with alien political and propaganda activities. Another problem has been that of suitable textbooks for Chinese schools. Textbooks printed in China have had political and antiforeign materials introduced into them which have made them in many cases unacceptable locally."

Turning to the Indian schools, in which the instruction is given in the Tamil tongue, Mr. Frisby said: "The Indian vernacular schools were the least satisfactory of the Singapore schools up to the end of 1949 although their number was relatively small, only 19, with a total enrollment of some 1,300 pupils. Those managed by missions were satisfactory but the others were of poor standard. The proprietary schools are run frankly to support their owners. The Indian schools, usually operated by Tamil committees, in some cases were dealt a sad blow in the "emergency," when it was found that some of the committee members were "wanted" as dubious trade union officials. These schools had to close through lack of committee members."

Since the emergency regulations went into effect in 1948, the

possession of Communist literature has been outlawed. But it continues to be smuggled into the colony and into its schools in various forms, the latest reports showing that it has been found wrapped in legitimate magazines and newspapers mailed from Hong Kong!

Earlier in this chapter, in the section on Hong Kong, we reported the establishment, as one anti-Communist measure, of special scholarships for refugee Chinese students in Hong Kong by the United Board for Christian Colleges in China (New York) and the Asia Christian Colleges Association (London). Similar scholarships have been established by the same organizations for Chinese students in Singapore and Malaya, to be administered by the Malayan Christian Council whose headquarters are at Singapore.

Malaya

Four hundred miles north of Singapore on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and only a few miles from the border of Thailand lies the charming little city of Georgetown on the island of Penang. Penang has close to a half-million inhabitants. It is the intellectual and commercial center of northern Malaya and was the British center for trade a half-century before Singapore was thought of. The author spent a week there, visiting various schools and talking with British and Chinese educators.

Mr. Chan Yik King is the inspector of Chinese schools. With his two assistants he tries, by many unannounced visits, to keep in touch with the 125 Chinese schools under his jurisdiction in Penang and in Province Wellesley, a small territory opposite Penang on the mainland. Mr. Chan finds it safer to go armed on these school inspections since he could easily be waylaid between schools by terrorist bandits who do not approve of his activities. Much Communist literature has been confiscated from the Chinese schools. A few samples, in English translation of course, may be of interest as showing the virulence of the attack on Chinese Nationalists and on British authorities endeavoring to maintain order and restore security to the troubled peninsula. They also show the effort to poison the minds of impressionable children.

The following is taken from a pamphlet found in the possession of students in the Fukien Girls School, Penang:

To All Students in Penang:

The British Imperialist robbers have launched a full faced attack on the students of Malaya now.

It goes on to describe in some detail searches made by the authorities in several Chinese schools in Singapore and in Ipoh, another city of northern Malaya. It then continues:

These insane actions of the British Imperialist robbers have disclosed stark-nakedly their fierce looking, devilish appearance. They have torn asunder their masks of so-called "Democracy," "Government by Law," etc., and adopted Fascist methods of "crushing" and "arresting" again the peoples of all Malaya. Their recent attack on the schools was according to a fixed plan.

Fellow students of Penang! Since the British Imperialist robbers have without reason attacked the schools of Singapore and Ipoh, they may likewise attack us on as large and as mad a scale. In order to crush their secret designs, we must be on the alert and bind ourselves together and use our combined strength to give them a ruthless blow.

For this reason we hereby shout and call: All Penang fellow-students, join together bravely and determinedly under the flag of the Penang Anti-British League, and struggle determinedly against the British Imperialist robbers! Finally, let us shout the following slogans:

All Penang fellow-students, combine together and rise!

Down with the cultural spies!

Down with the British Imperialist robbers!

Long live the Penang Anti-British League!

This inflammatory document was signed by the Branch League of the Penang Anti-British Association.

Another document was turned in by the principal of one of the loyal Chinese schools when he found it being circulated in his school. It was signed by the "Fourth Mobile Platoon of the Eighth Regiment of the National Liberation Army"—indicating something of the organization of the bandit forces. It was a violent attack on the formation of the volunteer forces to combat the Communist bandits. It closes as follows:

For the eradication of the "Volunteer Forces" let us shout loudly.

The Volunteer Forces is the instrument of British Imperialism for enslaving the people. He who joins the Volunteer Forces therefore is the public enemy.

We will relentlessly crush these renegades!
Down with the underdogs' organization!
Down with the Volunteer Forces!
Down with British Imperialism!
The doomsday of the British robbers is drawing near!

The violent anti-British attacks sound very much like those put out by Communist student and other groups in Japan, except that there they were directed against the American occupation forces rather than against the "British Imperialist robbers"! It is not difficult to infer a common origin for them. Such violent anti-British attacks could be better understood perhaps if they came from the native Malays, but for the most part they are well satisfied with British policy. It is estimated that at least 95 percent of the Communist bandits are Chinese—immigrants to the country, not natives of it. And of course it is the British who, largely during the present century, have made Singapore and all of Malaya into a territory where it has been safe and possible for two or three million Chinese to emigrate from their own troubled country and make comfortable competences and, in some cases, fortunes for themselves under the protection of the "British robbers"!

Another pamphlet, of which several hundred copies were found in several different schools in Penang, was an equally violent attack on the Kuomintang, which locally is known as the KMT. It closes with the following appeal to students:

Dear fellow-students who are under the influence of the KMT! Wake up! Don't allow yourselves to be oppressed and deluded any more. We do not want slavish education for we do not want to be slaves. Let us uphold our glorious record in the past and show forth our good spirit.

Following is a poem written by Khoo Boo Keat, a student in the Chung Ling Boys High School in Penang, inspired by the five stars in the new flag of Red China:

How brightly the five stars burn,
Vividly lighting up the whole world;
Lighting the spirit and life of the whole people—
Five beautiful stars!

Look! They lead the strong People's Army
To drive out the reactionary KMT bandits,

To hasten the liberation of all China.
For the sake of a lasting world peace
They summon the oppressed people of the world to unite.
Seize their weapons,
Fight to the death against the exploiters,
End oppression and deception.
They are the stars of the people's salvation.
The peace and security of mankind
Can only be achieved through them.
They lead all mankind to uphold World Peace.
With hands clasped, let us march forward.

On the day that we sailed from Penang, bound for Australia and New Zealand, seventeen students and teachers of some of the Chinese schools in Penang were taken into custody by the police after a dawn raid. They were wanted because of their activities in connection with the Communist-dominated Penang Student Association—an unlawful underground organization responsible, probably, for distribution of some of the literature which has been quoted above, as well as for other subversive activities in the schools. Seven of the teachers were women.

So the struggle to make the schools as well as the troubled country of Malaya safe from the ideology and the banditry of the Communist forces goes on. The outcome? Who can tell? It is the purpose of this writer to report, not to predict.

Thailand

Thailand (formerly and perhaps better known in America as Siam) has some 18,000,000 people but only two multi-faculty universities, both located in Bangkok, the capital. Chulalongkorn University was founded in 1917 and named in honor of Siam's most distinguished and constructive king, who during his long reign (1868-1910) did so much to modernize Siam and to justify the early training given him as Crown Prince by an American woman, so vividly described by Margaret Landon in her *Anna and the King of Siam*. The other institution rejoices in the name of the University of Moral and Political Sciences (known locally as UMPS University), founded very recently. The first reports

some 4,000 students, the second about 8,000, many of them non-resident. In addition there are in Bangkok recently organized universities of medicine, of agriculture, and of art.

Deans of three of the faculties of UMPS University stated to the writer that there was no significant Communist influence in the various faculties of the university. When they were asked about *Thammachak Raipak* (Student Council Monthly), the former student publication, they admitted the facts concerning it but brushed it off as of "no significance." Reliable sources indicated that this publication had been the recognized student organ of the university, but because it became Communist in tone and was edited and controlled by Communist students, the university faculty decided to outlaw it and to authorize the establishment of another official organ for the students. Meanwhile the Communist group of students have continued their Red line in *Thammachak Raipak*, which has continued to appear but at irregular intervals.

Alexander MacDonald is editor of the English-language daily newspaper, the *Bangkok Post*, which he established immediately after World War II and described so entertainingly in his recent book, *Bangkok Editor*. He has been in very close touch with political conditions ever since the close of the war. He stated to the writer that he was satisfied there is much Communist influence in the schools in Thailand, and particularly in the two major national universities in Bangkok. In his popular daily column, the "Postman," in the issue of the *Post* for December 31, he recommended a series of New Year's resolutions desirable for public officials and other groups in Thailand. One of these read: "For the UMPS student body: To stop reading half-baked political tracts and dig into solid books of knowledge."

A particularly well-informed individual, who asked not to be quoted, stated that there was much subtle Communist propaganda at Chulalongkorn University, but this information was minimized by officials of the university when inquiry was made of them concerning it.

The proportion of Chinese resident in Thailand is substantial as it is in other countries of Southeast Asia—an estimated three

million in the population of eighteen million. Said Sanga Nilkamhaeng, chief of the Thai Diplomatic Mission in Japan, in 1950: "Communist elements in Thailand at present are nominal. Such Communists as exist are composed primarily of young Chinese who have been admitted to live in the country and are abusing the hospitality of our people. It is estimated that there are about 3,000 of these underground workers, but Thailand authorities are keeping them under strict surveillance, and if they should start actively to practice what they preach, they would find themselves summarily deported."

That this statement gives a somewhat too optimistic view of the situation today is indicated by other evidence. A careful observer states: "Probably the majority of Chinese schools in Thailand are pro-Communist in the sense that the teachers are leftist and have introduced Communist textbooks and teaching methods." The Chinese Communist party has open press connections, schools, and its own bookshop in Bangkok.

Even more striking is the statement made while the writer was in Bangkok by Police Lieutenant General Phao Sriyanond in his capacity as Deputy Minister of Interior. General Phao was recognized as the "strong man" of Thailand, second in importance in the kingdom, if he was not indeed more influential even than the Prime Minister himself, Field Marshal P. Pibul Songgram. By some he was credited with responsibility for keeping the Prime Minister in office. In December 1951 General Phao was engaged in drafting a strong anti-Communist law, "based upon those in force in Turkey, the United States, and the Colony of Singapore," he said. The General stated that the new law would not prohibit private study of communism, but would be devised to prevent internal unrest and subversive activity on the part of those attempting overthrow of the established government by force.

"The new law will prohibit the propagation of communism in the schools," said General Phao. "Therefore police will continue to arrest Chinese teachers instructing the pupils in communism. In the four years since I have been with the Police Department, forty or fifty Chinese teachers have been deported upon evidence that they were teaching communism. Some of them carried Communist party cards and other party documents."

General Phao stated that Communist activities in Thailand are mostly to be found among teachers in the Chinese language schools and in the newspapers. While the writer was in Bangkok, the new editor of the pro-Communist daily *Chuan Men Pao*, Nai Thiemheang Sae Ngow, was arrested for deportation; also Nai Parheng Sae Ku, radio monitor of the paper. The editor's predecessor had been deported two months earlier.

This positive and vigorous attitude on the part of the government has been supported in recent months by changing sentiment, particularly on the part of the wealthy merchant class of Chinese. Most of the "overseas Chinese" have been fence-sitting because they felt they should look out for their own welfare. They have been inclined to trim their political sails to the prevailing wind. Thus, they have been inclined to be favorable to the existing Peiping regime. But the excesses of this regime, particularly in its growing extortion and ransom demands upon local members of the merchant class (similar to demands on Chinese residents of the United States), have served to decrease markedly their favorable attitude toward the Chinese People's Republic.

Students of Maejo Agricultural College in Chiangmai, second city in Thailand, went on strike while the writer was in Bangkok, "through discontent at the unjust attitude on the part of some of the teachers," according to a spokesman for them, "and against the bad and almost uneatable food supplied." Nai Saman, a representative of the students, later insisted that there was no truth in the report that the strike had been instigated by Communists. It bore all of the recognized earmarks, however, of such Communist-inspired activities, and those in Bangkok familiar with the situation told the writer that there was "no doubt" that Communist student leaders were primarily responsible. The school was closed following the strike, although a petition had been submitted to the Minister of Education, General Luang Phrom Yodhi, for its reopening so that students might not be deprived of taking their examinations to secure credit for work done. The Minister the last week in December stated: "The Minister feels deep concern about the future of the students and has ordered that all classes be reopened from the date of this announcement. Students are asked to return to classes as soon as possible."

Indo-China

The writer spent only two days in Indo-China, and they were taken up with a trip by air from Bangkok to northwestern Cambodia to see the world-famed ruins of Buddhist temples at Ankor Wat. Hence, there was no opportunity to discuss the possible impact of communism on education in Cambodia, Laos, and Viet Nam, the three associated states which make up Indo-China. The information in this section, therefore, has been furnished for the most part by the embassies of Viet Nam and Cambodia and the legation of Laos in Washington.

These three states have a combined population of twenty-eight million in an area a little larger than the state of Texas. Of these, Viet Nam, the largest in both area and population, for more than seven years has been torn by internal warfare with the Communist guerrilla forces under the noted Communist leader Ho Chi Minh. Actual hostilities have been confined almost entirely to Viet Nam although a considerable number of Cambodians and Laotians have joined with the Viet Nameese forces.

The only university is at Hanoi, with a branch at Saigon which draws students from all three states. There are several lycées in the towns, and a system of elementary schools. All of these are controlled by the government. In addition there are privately controlled Chinese schools, mostly of primary level, in all three states. Education was made compulsory in Viet Nam in 1951 for children from seven to fourteen years of age.

Communist lines have been sharply drawn as a result of the continuing hostilities, particularly in Viet Nam. Known Communists have been liquidated. There are today no known Communists among the teaching staffs of the university or the lycées. The anti-Communist warfare, however, has resulted in a marked depletion of the enrollment of young men in the university and to some extent in the lycées. The Communist forces do not control any of the cities or towns; hence there has been little interference with the normal functioning of the public school system.

The Communist guerrillas, however, have carried off many of the Viet Nam provincial officials in the hundreds of local administrative districts or provinces into which the state is divided. As a

result, a special Administration School has been organized at Saigon to train young men, preferably university graduates (although it has not been possible to hold to this standard in the present emergency), in a two-year course as replacements for the men kidnapped from their local administrative positions. Enrollment in this school is in excess of two hundred students.

In Cambodia, according to the Embassy, communism has not presented a problem in public or in private schools either among teachers or students. Every effort has been made to prevent the entry of Communist literature into the country, and it is the belief of the Embassy that the quantity of such literature that does enter illegally is not large. Cambodia is the only one of the three states which does not border directly on Red China, thus control of such literature is easier than for the others.

In Laos there has been no noticeable Communist influence in the public schools. In the Chinese schools at Pakse and Vientiane several Communist teachers were purged and expelled from the country after the People's Government in China came into power. The staffs of ten other Chinese schools are being kept under strict surveillance. Any teacher that comes under suspicion is immediately expelled from Laos. There was considerable Communist indoctrination for a time in the part of the country under Communist military occupation, but most of this has now been eradicated as the guerrillas have been driven out. Communist publications, particularly from France, are prohibited and the prohibition is well enforced. Some Communist literature, however, filters across the border from China.

Burma

In its attitude toward communism in general and particularly toward Communist influences in the schools, the official attitude of Burma is distinctly different from that of any of the dozen other countries visited by the writer in the Pacific area. Every other government officially has been opposed to communism and has adopted various methods for endeavoring to eliminate it from the schools, both public and private. This effort has not always been 100 percent successful, particularly in the case of private

schools, but there has been no question of the official adverse attitude on the part of the government.

In Burma, however, the official attitude of the government is one not of hostility but of neutrality as far as possible. Four major embassies are maintained in Rangoon—American, British, Chinese, and Soviet. If any special favor is shown or suggestion approved which is made by one of the democratic embassies, an effort is made to balance it with similar action favorable to the Communist ones.

For example, when Burma sent a delegation to the World Assembly of Youth at Cornell University in America in August 1951, attended by 400 delegates from 70 nations, Burma was careful to balance this action by sending also a delegation to the Berlin Youth Festival! In spite of this effort at neutrality, however, the All-Burma Students Union (Communist) cabled the Berlin Festival authorities in July complaining of the reluctance of the Burmese government to issue passports to student applicants. They claimed that the National Festival Committee of Burma had proposed the names of twenty-seven student representatives but that only three of them were granted passports. Verily, the effort to maintain complete neutrality is a difficult one! There are even two rival "All-Burma Student Unions," with identical names, one Communist, one anti-Communist.

Burma, on the frontier of the Chinese empire, is at the cross-roads of the highways to China, India, and Southeast Asia. Therefore it offers a most tempting prize to the Communist world. If Burma falls, then the whole economic, political, and strategic structure of Asia may change radically with it. Burma was twice devastated during the war, caught between two fires—first by the Japanese and then by the British. More important now to many Burmese than pro-communism or anti-communism is their very strong anti-foreign feeling. They are willing to learn, but not to be dictated to, particularly by anyone with a white skin.

January 4, 1952, our first day in Rangoon, was the fourth anniversary of the independence of the Union of Burma, marked by a military parade through the elaborately decorated streets and by appropriate speeches by Premier Thankin Nu and others. The independence of the Union unfortunately is more fiction than

fact, however. It is true she is now free from British control but far from free from internal forces of disruption. Burma was poorly prepared for independence and the resultant responsibility for self-government. No extensive middle class had developed. The few real leaders lacked self-assurance and training in administration. There have been over five years of civil war and the end is not yet in sight.

At least five distinct revolutionary armies have been fighting against the central government and at times against each other as well. At least two of these were Communist—the Red Flag army (Trotskyites) and the White Flag army (Stalinites)—and the three others had strong Communist elements. Of the 260,000 square miles which make up the country, the Union controls only a fraction outside the dozen cities which are reached by air lines. Surface transportation, whether by boat, road, or rail, is distinctly unsafe. We were even advised not to cross the Irrawaddy River on which Rangoon is located, since recently there had been a Communist Army raid in that portion of Rangoon itself.

Unlike the situation in most other countries of Southeast Asia, the Chinese population of Burma is relatively small, about 300,000 in a total of some 18,000,000, but their commercial importance is out of proportion to their numbers. While they are scattered throughout the country, their greatest concentration, of course, is in Rangoon, where five daily and two weekly Chinese newspapers are published. Of the dailies, three are distinctly Communist, one is middle of the road, and one is anti-Communist. Of the weeklies, one is scurrilously pro-Communist; the other is mildly anti-Communist.

There are 211 Chinese schools in the country, of which about 25 are in Rangoon. Many of these have young Communist teachers, and to date no serious effort has been made to control them. A general law for the control of all private schools, however, has been formulated. The Chinese front organization is known as the Democratic League. With ample financial aid from Peiping, it is understood to have made considerable headway in the Chinese schools as well as with the local press.

The University of Rangoon, enrolling some 5,000 students, has a vigorous Communist organization known as the Marxist Study

Group with a membership variously estimated at from 40 to 200 students. There is also an active Marxist Chinese Students Association with a membership of about 100.

An astonishingly brazen Communist effort to distort the whole instructional program of the university was averted in 1950. The control of the university is in the hands of a university senate of about a dozen members. Two of these are elected as representatives of the Student Union. These representatives need not be students; more commonly they are graduates who represent students and student interests and viewpoints. In 1949 Communist students, although in a minority, got control of the Student Union by methods well known in other organizations. In 1950, at the regular meeting of the university senate, the elected representatives of the Student Union introduced what was later designated as the "famous Marxist resolution" to abolish the use of all English- or American-printed textbooks in the university and to substitute for them a series of English texts authored and published in Moscow, covering all university subjects from art and biology (*à la* Lysenko) through economics and English literature to political science and zoology. The resultant uproar, however, not only in the university itself but also in the Rangoon newspapers was so great at this daring Communist effort at suppression of academic freedom that it operated as a boomerang. The resolution, when it finally came to a vote, was decisively defeated. As an aftermath, the Communist control of the Student Union was repudiated. Non-Communist control of it has been the case since late 1951.

Half of the University of Rangoon plant was razed during the war. The American Economic Cooperation Administration has allocated \$170,000 for purchase of scientific equipment, laboratory materials, and replacement of other wartime losses. But at the May Day celebration of Rangoon workers, one of their leaders, Thankin Livin, roused cheers among his listeners when he said "ECA is poisoned candy!"

In spite of general official neutrality, however, Burma is showing in various ways a distinct leaning toward the development of a democratic school system. In 1952 an official education mission of six members, headed by the Minister of Education, U Kuang, was abroad studying educational methods. This was the

first Burmese educational mission ever sent to the West. Initiative for it came from the Burmese government itself, not from the American or British Embassies, and it was financed by the Burmese government. It is significant that it spent six weeks in England, followed by six months in the United States, Canada, and Mexico. It traveled from coast to coast, studying especially technical and vocational education as well as general education and teacher preparation.

Incidentally, while the writer was in New Zealand, he met Mr. U Aung Min, administrator of the Mass Education Council of Burma, who had been sent by the Burmese government to study educational methods in Australia, New Zealand, and the United States of America. Burma is already credited with having the highest percentage of literacy of any of the countries of South-east Asia, about 60 percent. Mr. Aung Min has the responsibility of still further improving the percentage of adult literacy and of organizing an extensive system of education for civic responsibility of the entire adult literate population. This should prove an additional strong deterrent to communism. A promising beginning has been made in this important field, but there is not space to describe it here in detail.

The hour of 4:20 A.M. on January 4, 1948, was chosen after due deliberation by the official government astrologers as the most auspicious hour for launching the new government. For this reason the 1952 celebration of Independence Day, mentioned above, began at the same hour. It is feared, however, that more than astrology will be necessary to assure the country a permanent and stable government and an adequate and democratic school system.

Fortunately, there is considerable evidence to indicate that Burma, while officially neutral, is benevolently neutral in favor of democratic education and is quietly but effectively working against the threat of Communist influence in her schools.

4. South Pacific

THE PHILIPPINES INDONESIA AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND

IN THE VAST AREA known as the South Pacific, chiefly almost limitless expanses of water, we visited four countries, two very new in having achieved independence and a republican form of government—the Republics of the Philippines and of Indonesia; and two well-established members of the British Commonwealth—Australia and New Zealand. From Manila in the Philippines to Dunedin in the south island of New Zealand is more than five thousand miles.

The Philippines

Although the Philippine Islands were overridden with Communist influence and direct violence flared up almost daily, the universities, colleges, and secondary schools of the Republic of the Philippines appeared to be surprisingly and gratifyingly free from immediate Communist influence, either in their faculties or among the thousands of ambitious young people enrolled in these institutions. This was the general conclusion of the writer after a two weeks' visit in this country as a result of conferences with various responsible Filipino and American educational leaders.

In the Philippines, education, like commerce, industry, building, and government, has been struggling valiantly to recover from the

destructive effects of three years of Japanese control and from the further destruction necessarily caused by the American troops in driving out the Nipponese invaders. The Philippines should be an important bastion of democracy in the Far East, particularly after their half-century of development under American influence. What is the situation in the schools, so basic to true democratic ideals and practices?

Said Dr. Manuel L. Carreon, Director of Private Education for the Philippine government: "The outbreak of the war on December 8, 1941, was immediately followed by the closing of all schools, public and private. During the enemy occupation many schools were opened again, but most of the youth did not care to go back to school because of the unsettled conditions or because of the oppressive regimentation imposed by the Japanese Military Administration. Those who went back to their classes showed little interest in their studies; and the attitude of the school authorities, on the whole, was marked by indifference."

Dr. Carreon continued: "Soon after the liberation, however, late in 1944 and early in 1945 and with the restoration of the commonwealth government in Manila on February 27, 1945, there came a spirited rush to the educational institutions on the part of our youth who were eager to resume the schooling that had been interrupted by a three-year educational blackout."

About half of the secondary education and more than nine-tenths of the collegiate and university education of the Philippines is carried on in private schools. These schools, however, are operated under government supervision and are required to conform to general standards established by the government. Dr. Carreon, as Director of Private Education, is in close touch with the nine hundred private secondary schools and the almost four hundred higher educational institutions which are such important agencies in attempting to meet the educational needs of a nation of almost twenty million people. He is a doctor of philosophy and a Phi Beta Kappa from the University of Nebraska, with subsequent graduate work at the University of Chicago and Columbia University.

Doubtless Dr. Carreon is the best-qualified man in the country to know the facts with reference to Communist influence in the higher educational institutions. He assured the writer that he

knew of no organized Communist cells among the students in any of the institutions under the supervision of his bureau. He also stated that there were no recognized Communist professors in any of the private universities, although there were some who could probably be classed as "liberals."

Dr. Bienvenido M. Gonzales, president in 1951 of the University of the Philippines, the only public university in the Islands, stated that there were no Communists among the faculty members of his institution, which has furnished 60 percent of the leaders of the country since its establishment in 1908. "We did have one Communist professor," he remarked with a smile, "but we 'encouraged' him to go to the United States, where he now has a position in a well-known American university!"

The plant of the University of the Philippines in the city of Manila was almost completely destroyed by the Japanese attack on the city. A new and far more commodious plant was under construction in 1951 on an extensive campus in a suburb only ten miles from the heart of the city, with the aid of American rehabilitation funds. So great was the danger of attack from Communist guerrillas, however, that the university dared not schedule any evening classes on the new campus, for fear that students or faculty traversing the roadway after dark would be ambushed and robbed or killed by the "dissidents," as the Communist bands of outlaws were more commonly known locally.

Dr. Vidal L. Tan, president of the Far Eastern University,¹ the largest private university—with an enrollment in excess of 17,000 students—told the writer that he knew of little Communist influence in his institution. He stated that many Chinese students were enrolled in it but that most of them were serious and earnest students. He felt that some of them might be "on the fence" in their loyalties, awaiting the outcome of present political developments in China, before deciding which side to favor—Communist or anti-Communist. On the whole, however, the Chinese students as well as the large Chinese population in general, he felt, were loyal to the Nationalist government and strongly opposed to the present Communist regime in Peiping. They represent much of the busi-

¹ Dr. Tan succeeded Dr. Gonzales as president of the University of the Philippines in the fall of 1951.

ness interests of the Philippines and fully realize what would happen to their extensive property holdings under any Communist regime.

While the writer was in the Philippines, more than 10,000 Chinese students in the city of Manila staged a mammoth anti-Red and pro-Chiang Kai-shek rally and parade through the Chinese section of the city as the climax of a four-day Chinese youth convention. The parade was the most colorful occasion since liberation. It featured the participation of young men on stilts satirizing prominent Russian and Chinese Communist leaders. Some ten thousand school children and young people marched many blocks in the 96-degree tropical heat waving Filipino, Chinese, and American flags. Delegates from 121 Chinese young people's organizations throughout the Islands passed strong resolutions supporting the Nationalist cause and pledging loyalty to the Generalissimo.

Dr. Tan reported the case of one Filipino intellectual, who had a doctor's degree from an American university, who had "gone to the hills" to join the Communist guerrillas. That such desertions of university-trained men to the Communist cause is not an isolated instance is indicated, perhaps, by the commencement address entitled "There's a Place in the World for You, Pablo" given while the writer was in Manila, by the popular United States Ambassador, Myron M. Cowen, at Silliman University.

Pablo, according to Ambassador Cowen, graduated with the class of 1950 from one of the better universities in Manila:

There was little to distinguish him from his classmates except a certain moodiness that sometimes made him seem almost sullen. There was no more than that to explain why, one day soon after graduation, he joined the dissidents and disappeared into the hills. We can only wonder, and ask why, as I am asking today.

You have just received a liberal education, Pablo. During your years of school you came to know all of the great minds that have contributed to man's progress. Why, Pablo, did you choose to join a revolution that is trying to turn the clock back? Why do you want to turn your country over to a colonialism which has been reaching out for control of Asia since the time of the Czars? When you wave the Red flag and shout slogans fresh from the Moscow propaganda mills, when you name your secret schools "Stalin universities," do you mean that you want for

your nation the kind of "independence" enjoyed by Poland or Czechoslovakia?

There was a time when the peaceful beauty of your countryside could be enjoyed in safety at any hour of the day or night. Today, near your haunts, sudden death or robbery lurks behind the beauty of every bamboo grove. Gaiety, charm, hospitality, and devoted fellowship have long been traditions of your race. Today, in many places, Communist doctrine has substituted hatred, suspicion, and naked fear. To those who have never read a book or newspaper or listened to a radio, the lies and distortions and shameless deceptions of your "Stalin universities" may be persuasive.

Ambassador Cowen said in closing this unconventional address:

In your country, as elsewhere in Asia, America is willing to help to the limit of our resources in the real revolution of our time, the constructive revolution that has as its objectives the overthrow of human misery and want and the elevation to power of such forms of free society as best fit the needs, the tastes, and the cultural aspirations of the people who compose them. All that we seek to gain from the success of such a revolution is the assurance that we, as well as all others, may live and work out our destiny in a world community ruled by reason, morality, and a decent respect for the rights of others. There is a place for you in that world, Pablo, but you will have to wash the blood off your hands and leave your gun outside.

This address was widely and favorably commented upon, not only in academic circles but also by the press and general public. Thus, the Manila *Bulletin*, in its leading editorial for April 4, 1950, said:

Every Philippine student should read Ambassador Cowen's fatherly admonitions to "Pablo," the college man who went wrong. It is not the usual sort of commencement address, nor the kind of thing an ambassador usually says to the people in the country of his assignment. Yet, by the use of an unusual device, the Ambassador's address at Silliman University yesterday dealt more directly and perhaps more forcefully with the problem of communism than has previously been done.

Asked regarding the "Stalinist universities" to which the Ambassador referred, Dr. Carreon smilingly said that they had not yet applied to his bureau for "official" approval. He admitted, however, that he had been informed of the existence of such illegal Communist propaganda institutions. It is logical to assume that some of the intellectuals who have gone over to the Communist

cause in the Islands have a prominent part in these institutions.

At a meeting of leaders of the Huks (short for Hukbalahops, an abbreviation of the Tagalog name which is translated as People's Liberation Army) on the island of Panay early in April 1950, it was reported that a decision was made to change the name of the local "Stalin Academy" to the more innocuous-sounding "Vocational Institute." No change was contemplated, however, in the basic purpose of the institution to train saboteurs, arsonists, and propaganda experts for assignments in Visayan and Mindanao Provinces, the leading areas of the central and southern Philippines.

The excesses and terrorism of the Huks have been widely reported in the press of the world. While locally, as stated above, they are commonly designated euphemistically as "dissidents," there is no doubt, according to various educational leaders interviewed by the writer, that they are Communists who follow closely the standard Communist line as it emanates from Moscow and Peiping. Their leader, Luis Taruc, admitted that he was a Communist, devoted to the party line.

Almost daily the Manila press reported from a half-dozen to a dozen "incidents" in various parts of the country, some of them within a few miles of the capital city of Manila. One of the most recent and distressing of these during the short period the writer was in the Islands was the murder in cold blood a few miles from the city of two American citizens—a man and his wife, and his Australian manager, who were operating a dairy farm which furnished much of the high-grade milk for Manila. "Americans are the enemies of the Filipino people and should be killed or robbed by the Huks at every opportunity," was the officially expressed attitude of the dissidents as indicated by Huk documents which were captured from the killers and released April 7.

On his way to the Manila airport on the edge of the city the writer noted machine guns, sandbag emplacements, and a tank guarding one of the intersections on the main highway. Troops were scattered at strategic points throughout the city and its suburbs.

The first week of April a Huk arson squad of one hundred dissidents entered the *barrio* (town) of San Mariano for the second

time in less than a month and burned the elementary school building—after carefully removing from the library all books on history! It was stated that the looted history texts were taken to “Stalin universities” and schools in the Sierra Madre mountains.

The Communist threat in the Republic of the Philippines is direct, vigorous, and menacing. The best evidence available, however, indicates that the universities and other schools, while not entirely free of Communist influences, are not in any sense the centers of important Communist propaganda, agitation, and organization such as is found in the universities of Japan and of some other countries. Rather they are, on the whole, a distinct anti-Communist influence in the nation.

Indonesia

Indonesia is a mere infant among the family of nations, barely four years of age since the Dutch on December 29, 1949, formally transferred sovereignty to the vast archipelago (except western New Guinea, still in dispute) stretching more than 3,000 miles from east to west. In those four short years the new leadership, with inadequate opportunities to develop under the long Dutch regime, has been faced by many staggering challenges—political, economic, diplomatic, social, and educational. The unsettled conditions, aftermath of the war; the ignorance and poverty of most of the seventy million people; the lack of trained administrators at the intermediate levels—these have furnished a fertile field for the development of Communist ideology with its specious promises of quick improvement.

There are some two and a half million Chinese among the seventy million people of the new country. As in many other countries of Southeastern Asia they maintain their own schools. Seventy percent of the Chinese are native born; 30 percent are recent immigrants. The local Chinese press is vigorous, and the Chinese schools are gaining in enrollment since the decline of the Dutch schools. Most of the teachers are “China-born, young, and pro-Peiping” according to a competent observer. Most of the Chinese inhabitants are favorable to the Peiping government; at least they have felt it good policy to be so under existing conditions.

Red China's first ambassador to Indonesia, Wang Jen Shu, was a long-time resident of Sumatra, where his occupation was described as "school teacher, journalist, and Communist agent." Several weeks after he had been accepted at Djakarta (formerly Batavia) as the accredited ambassador of the Peiping government, it was found that under his Indonesian name of Bahren he had written two books on how to overthrow a government by violence and set up a Communist state. Sumatra police confiscated 30,000 copies of these books.

One great danger spot in Indonesia is Communist influence in the Chinese schools. There are more than 100 of these schools in Indonesia, with an enrollment of 250,000. In Djakarta, the capital, alone there are 50 Chinese schools with an enrollment of 40,000. Of these there are three large schools—one completely Communist in its administration, one non-Communist (enrollment 4,000), and the third that is not sure which way to jump but leans toward communism. In many of these Chinese schools large portraits of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung were the most prominent features on the walls of the classrooms.

To be a principal of one of these schools now is a job with many and severe headaches. The Ministry of Education has been trying gradually to introduce more study of Indonesian language and culture into these schools as a factor in securing devotion and loyalty to Indonesia, but the process has been a slow one. At present most of the instruction is in Chinese.

One unfortunate result of the present conditions is that many graduates of the Chinese secondary schools have found they had no place to go. The total enrollment in universities in Indonesia was less than 8,000 (mostly Indonesians) two years ago; hence enrollment opportunities for Chinese students were severely limited. Currency restrictions made it difficult to get the funds for study in Europe or America.

As a result of these conditions it was reported in early 1952 that more than 200 Chinese graduates of secondary schools had accepted tempting offers from Communist China. And these 200 have proved to be but the beginning of an increasing stream. In chapter 10 it will be reported that at least 5,000, and probably 7,000, Chinese students from overseas entered South China in the spring of 1953 to enroll in Communist universities. Most of them

were from Indonesia. They were said to have been processed and their travel facilitated through the Chinese Embassy in Djakarta.

The infant government of Indonesia has been so busy in the four years of its existence in trying to get a public school system established and to set up a nation-wide program to reduce adult illiteracy—estimated at 90 percent or higher—that it has had little chance to develop any adequate control of private schools.

About half of the ten million children of elementary school age are now in school, and it is planned to open new schools at a rate to take care of about half a million new pupils each year for the next ten years. There are also some 1,800 secondary schools with 280,000 students—about ten times as many such schools as ever existed under the Dutch administration. These are no mean achievements in four years. The government has been endeavoring to keep Communist influences out of these elementary and secondary schools.

Two universities now exist, the older University of Indonesia, established at Djakarta by the Dutch, with branches at Bandung, Bogur, Surabaya, and Macassar (Celebes); and the new Gadjah Meda University, organized at Jogjakarta in 1947. Total enrollment in these two universities was reported as 5,600, of which about one-tenth were young women.

The life of most of these university students is not an easy one. Dormitory rooms, even when available, have five or six students crowded into them instead of the normal two. As Jogjakarta a visitor from Asia found a hostel room in which eleven students were attempting to live. "Holes in the roof," he said, "through which water was pouring and the lack of mosquito netting complete a desolate picture which is not easily forgotten. . . . Communism then appears in a different light."² The price of textbooks, equipment, and supplies is almost prohibitive. Scholarship allowances that the government can afford are meager and inadequate both in number and in amount. More than 90 percent of the students are working. Such conditions among young, ambitious university students are commonly recognized as conducive to the development of communism.

Iman S. Slamet, English-speaking professor of psychology and

² *Times Educational Supplement* (London), Aug. 3, 1951.

psychiatry in the University of Indonesia at Djakarta, who had recently returned from a visit to the United States, stated that he knew of no significant Communist influence among either students or professors in the university. If true, and other sources in Djakarta tended to corroborate his opinion, it is a distinct tribute to the eagerness of these young people to prepare themselves for positions of leadership in their new republic.

The problem is by no means solved, however, for all Indonesian youth. Dr. Sumitro Djojohodikusumo, one of the outstanding educational leaders of the new nation, explained the attitude of many youth thus: "The masses in the rural areas are restive. Outside the cities dissatisfaction prevails. In the past these people were given the impression that 'freedom' would bring them the moon. Now they ask for the moon. The youth find it difficult to adjust themselves. Being accustomed to handle a rifle, they resort to it easily when they do not get what they want soon enough. The dominant issue in Indonesia is the problem of training and educating the people. We will encounter numerous disappointments and discouragements, but we will face them with our eyes wide open. The job ahead is more than tough, but it can be done."

In August 1953 a new coalition government was formed in Indonesia. Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, who was recalled as Ambassador to the United States, became the new Premier. Communist and left-wing leaders were given the important Ministries of Defense, Foreign Affairs, Justice, Finance, and Education. Dr. Sastroamidjojo, himself no Communist, is reported to have said, "As long as the Communists do not oppose us, we will get along all right." An American observer more realistically remarked, "The Nationalists are under a naïve impression that they are using the Communists. They will soon discover it is the other way around." The situation promises little hope for elimination of Communist influences in the schools of the country. Rather it is reasonable to expect them to increase.

Australia

Communism has been a serious problem among many of the trade unions of Australia. The Australian Communist party has

only about 14,000 members among the 1,400,000 trade unionists. Yet this 1 percent has succeeded in dominating most of the trade unions in basic industries, including seamen, iron workers, and coal miners as well as many of the unions of school teachers, scientific workers, postal employees, and hospital workers. The disastrous waterfront strikes of 1950 were generally known to be Communist inspired and organized.

The teachers unions in some of the six Australian states (New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania, all but the last two of which were visited by the writer) are in the hands of conservative leadership. But this is distinctly not true of New South Wales, which has the largest population of the six states and contains the largest city of Australia, Sydney, with over a million inhabitants. The leadership of the New South Wales Teachers Federation is markedly and militantly Communist.

The bursaries, or scholarships, given to all students in the teachers colleges of Australia have lost some of their purchasing power with the mounting inflation and consequent increased cost of living. The students themselves, while they were not satisfied with the situation, were not ready to adopt vigorous or disruptive means to secure increases. With typical Communist strategy, however, of seizing on a popular issue and one that represents at least partial cause for legitimate discontent, the leaders of the Teachers Federation stirred up the incipient dissatisfaction on the part of students of Sydney Teachers College, persuaded them to go on strikes from classes, and organized a downtown demonstration of students absenting themselves from classes in order to demand from the government increases in their bursaries. In a similar way, student protests were organized in the other five teachers colleges of New South Wales. The state government instructed the state department of education to prepare a report on Communist activities and influences in the six teachers colleges. The writer was unable to see a copy of this report, although he tried to do so. He was told that it "was not available."

Dr. Harold Wyndam, deputy director of education for New South Wales, admitted there were some Communist influences

among the schools of the state, but did not feel that they were serious nor that they called for immediate drastic action. He said that the department was watching the situation closely.

Educational forces as well as other groups were then waiting for the outcome of the referendum requested by the federal government giving it power to outlaw the Communist party in the Commonwealth. By a narrow margin this power was refused in the special referendum of September 22, 1951. This adverse vote was not, it was generally agreed, because of any desire to protect communism as such, certainly not in the schools of the Commonwealth, but because of the traditional hesitancy of the Australians to give greater powers to their central federal government.

Victoria is the second largest state of the Commonwealth, and has the second city, Melbourne, the great rival of Sydney. This city is the headquarters of the influential Australian Educational Research Association, whose director, Dr. Cunningham, has been familiar with educational developments in Australia for many years. He stated to the writer that he knew of little Communist influence in most of the schools, although doubtless there were isolated cases.

On the other hand, we became well acquainted with a woman in Melbourne who said she had been teaching in a secondary school in which there were thirty-eight teachers, of whom eight were women. She stated positively that three of the women and "several" of the men were definitely Communists. She also said that she knew of Communist teachers in other secondary schools in Victoria.

Colonel Charles Finlay, chief of the Australian Military Intelligence, stated in the public press that there was an "open army of 15,000 Communist agents operating in Australia," that the schools and other youth groups were among their important targets for propaganda, and that there were 100,000 Communist voters at each election. "The whole idea of communism," said Colonel Finlay, "is the gradual domination of the world through union action, propaganda, and influence, particularly of youth. You can see it in some Australian youth organizations. You can see it also in some of our student groups in Australia."

New Zealand

Little positive evidence of disruptive Communist influence was found among the schools of New Zealand. The principals of the four university colleges at Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin, constituent units of the University of New Zealand, and other responsible representatives of these institutions, all stated that they knew of little or no significant Communist activity either among students or professors of their institutions.

Principal Dickee of the Auckland Teacher Training College said that a few of his students had been indoctrinated with Communist ideology while working as stevedores on the docks, in Communist-controlled unions, during the summer vacation to supplement their inadequate student bursaries, but that they made no trouble upon returning to the college. He said that during the New Zealand waterfront strike last year a few students had attempted to distribute Communist literature among their fellow students at the college. General student reaction was so strongly opposed that the offending students were promptly reported to the principal. The practice was stopped and the literature destroyed. A similar report concerning one student attempting to distribute Communist publications among the students was noted by the principal of the Auckland University College.

On the whole, the writer concluded that there was little threat of Communist influence among the schools of New Zealand. The standard of living is high, grinding poverty and empty stomachs (which communism so frequently exploits) are unknown, and the people are contented. They think, and with some reason, that New Zealand is as near utopia as can be found on this troubled globe today. Communism finds it difficult to take root and blossom in such an atmosphere.

5. The Subcontinent

INDIA PAKISTAN CEYLON

THE WRITER AND his wife spent four months in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon studying educational conditions and developments in the vast subcontinent where more than four hundred million people (one-sixth of the world's population; more than twice that of the United States), 90 percent illiterate, have been trying within the space of the last six brief and hectic years to develop independent and responsible democracies of their own. Not four months, however, but four years or longer would be necessary to enable one fully to understand all of the tangled background and intricate crosscurrents of religions, of races, of languages, of caste, of partition, of political and social and economic conditions in these vast areas with their teeming populations struggling for a bare existence. Located as they are so close to Soviet Russia and to the new "People's Republic" of China and to the seething unrest in so much of Southeast Asia, it is not surprising that there is a growing interest in communism, particularly on the part of university students and professors and many of the other "intellectuals."

India

Mr. Chester Bowles, who was the popular American Ambassador when we were in India, upon his return to Washington for conferences in January 1952, was reported in the Indian press in a dispatch from Washington as saying, "Communism is gaining

ground among certain groups of young people in India." The increasing influence of communism in India is best summarized in the results of the nation-wide elections for members of the national and state assemblies, carried on from November 1951 to February 1952, in which 103 million votes were cast. Incidentally this was a world's record in democratic elections. The number of adult voters—men and women—was greater than the combined number of voters in the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

The Congress party emerged with a strong working majority in the national House of the People with 363 of the 496 seats (73 percent), although it polled only 44 percent of the popular vote. While it secured a majority of the seats in the assemblies of eighteen of the twenty-two states, it had a majority of the popular vote in only four of the smaller states. The Communist party won 37 seats in the central assembly and 234 in the state assemblies.

More significant, the Communist party emerged as the main opposition party and as a dangerously powerful factor in Indian politics. Well-organized groups of Communist students took a prominent part in the election campaign in many areas. The *Bombay Standard*, a leading Conservative paper, said editorially in analyzing the election: "The impressive Congress majorities in Bombay and most of the other states have been more than offset, ideologically speaking, by the Communist successes in the south. They constitute a formidable opposition in Hyderabad, Madras, and Travancore-Cochin." The Congress party has lost some of its initial prestige, partly because it was not able to achieve the impossible in marked improvement of economic and social conditions in five short years. The election gave it five years more in which to bring about an improvement of economic conditions in India.

The key to the increasing appeal of communism in India is doubtless the economic one. It is often said that communism thrives on an empty stomach. There are too many empty or near-empty stomachs in India. India is hungry. P. C. Mahalanobis, president of the Indian Statistical Institute and economic adviser to the Indian government, in an interview at his headquarters in Calcutta with the author, said, "The foundation of the appeal of communism in India is essentially economic. I myself have visited

Russia and seen with my own eyes economic conditions and standards of living that are vastly better than the average in India today."

Professor T. M. P. Mahadevan, head of the department of philosophy of the University of Madras, went a little further in his analysis. He said: "Communism is spreading in Asia because it offers to the people things they have been denied by the imperialist powers. It has a fascination for the masses because it promises heaven on earth. They do not bother about one ideology or another. They want only bread. Yet they see a gleam of light in the philosophy of communism too because it holds out the ideal that man ought to be free from poverty and that there should be no difference between the privileged few and the unprivileged many."

Also there are the uncounted millions of sacred cows, monkeys, and peacocks which roam the city streets and the highways of India and consume vast quantities of foodstuffs. These are unconscious but potent economic allies of communism.

We saw hundreds of ragged and homeless people sleeping on the sidewalks and cooking their scanty food on the streets. The situation was bad enough before partition but it was greatly aggravated by the terrible transfer of literally millions of people across the new borders in both directions, many of them with only the clothes they wore. One newspaper correspondent reported that in the cities hundreds of thousands are sleeping on the streets because the tenements will not accommodate more than ten persons to a room. Student living conditions in many of the universities are pitiable and certainly not conducive to effective study.

It has sometimes been said, also, that communism thrives on ignorance and illiteracy, but this generalization is not entirely borne out in India. The percentage of literacy is only 10 percent or less in India as a whole, but is fully 75 percent in parts of southern India, particularly Travancore-Cochin where the Communist party achieved its greatest gains in the 1951-52 general elections. Large quantities of Communist books, magazines, pamphlets, and leaflets were poured in before election for the benefit of the literate voters. Other literature was scanty or nonexistent.

As explained to the writer by various careful observers, both Indian and American, India has thousands of frustrated young uni-

versity graduates who find no suitable place for themselves in the present system. They have secured an academic education fitting them almost exclusively for government service, but most government departments are already overstaffed. The universities have not readjusted their courses of study to meet the needs of the country for young men trained in the fields of industry, commerce, and agriculture. It is not surprising that many of these frustrated youth turn to the alluring promises of communism found in the literature that floods the bookstalls especially in the university cities.

In India we visited the great educational centers of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and New Delhi as well as many other cities, most of which have extensive systems of secondary and higher education, either publicly or privately supported, including Bangalore, Mysore, Hyderabad, Agra, Jaipur, and Srinagar, and upon invitation the writer spoke before various audiences of educational and cultural leaders in many of these cities. The problems of Communist influence and activities were discussed with scores of Indians and Americans, the latter both official government representatives and private individuals who had been in India for many years and knew educational conditions intimately.

We were informed that Communist cells existed in most of the universities and many of the colleges. Facts concerning them are not easy to obtain, but we were told that for security reasons it was the policy to keep the membership of each cell small. Students must prove themselves uncompromisingly before being admitted to full membership. Both teachers and students are members.

Communist propaganda, however, is not limited to the higher educational institutions. We were also informed that in many cases it begins with children in the elementary schools and many of them are thoroughly conditioned by the time they reach the secondary schools. Other educators questioned this statement, feeling that the secondary schools are largely free of Communist influence even though admitting it has been strong and is becoming increasingly so in the universities.

It was Lenin who pointed out many years ago that "the road from Moscow to Paris lies through Peking, Shanghai, and Calcutta." He proved an accurate prophet as far as Peking and Shanghai are concerned. Calcutta today—particularly the Univer-

sity of Calcutta—was characterized to us by members of the American community as “the hotbed of communism in India.” Later, however, when we reached Madras, we were told that the real hotbed of communism was in southern India, as shown by the activities in the universities as well as by the election results. Unfortunately there is room in India for more than one Communist hotbed!

It was in Calcutta that a new phase of Communist policy was initiated by a group of Communist International agents meeting in February 1948 under cover of a so-called South-East Asian Youth Conference, convened by two Communist front organizations—the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students. Russians admitted under diplomatic passports took a prominent part. At this conference the famous Zhdanov Thesis was adopted, the essence of which was that the time for direct action had come. It called for armed insurrection against the governments in each Asian country, the raising of “People’s Liberation Armies,” extensive sabotage, and general guerrilla warfare. Soon after this very significant youth conference in Calcutta, violence actually commenced or was intensified in India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China, the Philippines, and Japan.

In Calcutta is the famed University of Calcutta, first of the modern Indian universities, founded by the British almost a century ago (1857). The university proper has more than 5,000 students in its badly overcrowded buildings in the heart of the city, but the total University of Calcutta system with 45,000 students includes 66 affiliated colleges for which it acts as the central examining and degree-granting body. Thus, it exercises great influence over the standards and curricula of these institutions. Almost half of these affiliated colleges are located in the city of Calcutta.

An observer for the International Student Service reported that conditions of students of the University of Calcutta could only be described as dreadful. He found them working by the light of street lamps and sleeping on railway platforms. He found there were more than 5,000 students without any accommodations whatever. Those who could find places in hostels were fortunate—there

were only six students to a room intended for two, and they were eating on the floor. He saw a Communist procession in Calcutta four miles long, half of it composed of students.¹

The best estimate it was possible to obtain from individuals in close touch with the university and its students was that about 8 percent of the students were card-carrying members of the Communist party, about 40 percent were fellow travelers, and at least 70 percent were anti-American—students in the latter large group in many cases differing but slightly from fellow travelers. The Communist group itself is carefully organized and well disciplined. Each member is given special duties which he executes without question. Many of them are assigned to specific villages throughout West Bengal and in neighboring states. It is their duty to spend a certain amount of time in these villages, distributing free papers, pamphlets, and handbills, putting up posters attacking and vilifying the free nations, and spreading the Communist doctrine by word of mouth. Some students are specifically assigned to certain schools and colleges (even though they may prefer to attend the university) because the party leaders judge that they will be “more useful” in these institutions. Many of the leading scholars on the faculty of the University of Calcutta were said to be Communists.

Mr. Chester Bowles, who had been in India less than a year when we were there, was not the conventional ambassador who remains at the capital and deals only with government officials. He was particularly interested in Indian students. In the short time he had been there, he had traveled more than 9,000 miles and visited forty colleges and universities. In late November 1951 he visited the University of Calcutta where he received rather rough treatment for a distinguished ambassador of a great and friendly nation when he spoke on “Democracy in America.” Noisy crowds of Communist-led students had gathered at the main gate to give him a typical Communist reception with shouts and jeers and with banners and placards inscribed “Go Home, Bowles,” “Down with American Imperialism,” “Long Live Stalin,” and others of similar tone and character. The university authorities outwitted the waiting students, however, by taking Mr. Bowles into the

¹ *Times Educational Supplement* (London), Aug. 3, 1951, p. 617.

auditorium through a side door, so he missed much of the Communist reception prepared for him. The students in the audience listened respectfully during his address, but when he suggested to the chairman, the vice-chancellor of the university, that he would be glad to answer any questions, the hostile students peppered him with clearly "loaded" questions. He attempted to answer all courteously, but the questions became more pointed and hostile, the disorder increased, and cries of "liar" greeted some of his answers. To prevent greater disorder and possible violence, the vice-chancellor hastily closed the meeting.²

Nor is Communist influence in Calcutta limited to the university proper. The last place one would normally expect to find it flourishing would be in church colleges. The oldest of the colleges affiliated with the University of Calcutta is the Scottish Church College, over a hundred years old, with an enrollment of about three hundred and fifty students, more than 90 percent of them men. Yet on the day we visited this institution, most of the students were engaged in a strike, which we were informed was Communist inspired and organized. The object of the strike was the postponement of term examinations for a few weeks until after the West Bengal elections were over, presumably so that the students might devote all of their time to "political activity." A picket line of some three hundred students barricaded the main gate and other approaches to prevent other students from entering the building. Without disorder, this line parted to admit the writer, his wife, and an Indian representative of the United States Information Service, but the writer had to rub his eyes to be sure he was not back in Japan—the pattern of the student strike was so similar to many of the Communist-organized ones he had seen in Japanese universities two years earlier. In the buildings we found about a dozen students, mostly girls, who had managed to evade the picket line and were taking their examinations. The professors were in a heated meeting discussing what measures to take. Not

² This paragraph, based upon information secured in Calcutta, was written before the publication of Mr. Bowles' book, *Ambassador's Report* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1954). It is interesting to compare it with Mr. Bowles' own account of this incident at the University of Calcutta, as given in chapter 10 of his book, and also in his article, "The Odds on Communism in India," *Harper's Magazine*, January 1954, pp. 41-48. Only minor differences are found in the three reports.

the most propitious time for a visit from foreign educators—but most instructive and illuminating! We had been told that the Scottish Church College had the reputation of having the largest proportion of Communist students of any college in Calcutta. When the authorities of the school were asked concerning this report, they denied it, saying that theirs were no worse than others—but the hundreds of striking students at their gates spoke eloquently by actions much stronger than words.

Lady Brabourne College, organized only fifteen years ago, has the finest modern plant of any of the Calcutta colleges. Dr. Toma Chowdhuri, the headmistress, told us they had relatively few Communist students and no trouble had been made by them. We were interested to learn from members of the United States Information Service, however, that recently a debate was sponsored at the college for the benefit of the students on the question, "*Resolved*, That the United Nations is a failure as an agency of peace in the world." The vote of the audience after the debate was eighty-seven to four in favor of the proposition. Two of the four negative votes were cast by USIS representatives!

The Calcutta School of Arts and Crafts is another school where Communist disturbances had been frequent. When the new president arrived from Delhi recently, he required all students to sign an anti-Communist pledge. Since that time there have been no disturbances in this institution, although of course it is well known that Communist students ordinarily have no compunctions about signing such pledges.

Nor is Communist activity in Calcutta and West Bengal limited to universities and colleges. It also permeates many of the secondary schools. Dr. A. K. Chadra, an Indian educator of many years standing, has been called back from retirement to become secretary of the recently established Board of Secondary Education, organized to develop standards and eliminate abuses in the 1,200 secondary schools in West Bengal, of which Calcutta is the capital. Because only 10 percent of the 20,000 teachers are adequately trained and qualified and the average salary is only 70 rupees (\$14.70) per month, Dr. Chadra feels that the first essential in the improvement of the staff is an increase in the salary scale. It is not surprising, he said, that such teachers are likely to be receptive to

the attractive promises of communism. Communism in the secondary schools, he said, tends to spread from the teachers to the students. A problem under discussion by Calcutta educators was whether Soviet athletic teams, with obvious propaganda undertones, should be allowed to arrange contests with Calcutta school teams. Soviet managers, he said, were willing and anxious to have them. Dr. Chadra also mentioned some of the "pretty girls" that were being used as decoys to interest students in communism, saying that they were proving much more effective in some cases than young men.

Associated Press dispatches in February 1954 gave details of the attack by a Communist-led mob on the library and offices of the United States Information Service at Calcutta, reporting it as the outgrowth of a teachers' strike there. Windows were smashed, books destroyed, locked doors broken, and fires started in the library. At least three deaths and sixty wounded were counted.

Madras is one of the centers in southern India where the Communist successes in the elections were most striking. We visited Madras soon after the results were known. Dr. Sadaviva Reddi, director of public instruction for Madras State, discussed the conditions fully and frankly. "We have had but little difficulty in the past," he said, "but I expect more trouble in the future from Communist students in view of the results of the elections. School conditions are far from satisfactory in Madras. Teachers are out of touch with students. Also they are very poorly paid. Often their salary is less than that of menial servants. They are deeply dissatisfied and an easy prey for communism." Dr. Reddi stated that last year he had cancelled the teaching licenses of between two hundred and three hundred teachers, about half of them in state schools, half in private schools, on evidences of their Communist activities as furnished him by the police.

Regarding the reason for the election results in Madras, Dr. Reddi said: "It is not surprising that many of the ignorant and economically depressed voted for the Communist candidates because of the promises which they made. Now those that voted Communist already want to know when their promised five acres of land each and their twelve ounces of rice per day will be furnished."

We did not have an opportunity to visit Travancore-Cochin, at the extreme southern tip of India, the most literate state in India, which is also the state that scored the greatest Communist success in the elections. It was reported that floods of Communist literature had been poured into this state and was widely read in the school and by the literate electorate. Dr. Reddi also discussed the situation in this neighboring state which he had visited many times. "In 1948-49," he said, "there were many Communist-instigated strikes on the part of students, particularly against some aspects of the matriculation examinations. There have been none this year, but probably there will be more strikes and other disturbances now since the Communists have demonstrated their strength. The headmasters of the schools are awakening to the difficulties and to the threats of increasing Communist influence among both teachers and students and feel that some concerted action must be taken to combat it." Dr. Reddi stated that in his judgment fully half of the teachers in both primary and secondary schools in Travancore-Cochin were Communists.

Osmania University is located at Hyderabad, formerly the capital of the richest princely state in India. It has some eleven thousand students, 30 percent women, and some of the finest university buildings in India. The registrar, Mr. Mahmood A. Khan, said there were some Communists among the students but none that he knew of among the professors. Communist students had a plan for starting a Communist student publication. They had also organized a protest recently at the decision to increase the fees at the university, even though they then were the lowest of any university in India. "As a result of the elections," he said, "I expect distinctly greater Communist activity among the students. The only way to fight communism effectively, I believe, is through improvement of economic and social conditions."

Osmania University is the only one in India at which the writer was told of any systematic efforts on the part of the institution to translate this observation into practical terms. "Osmania University," said Mr. Khan, "has sponsored the organization of student groups who have gone out into the surrounding villages in an effort to better conditions in them. Groups usually consist of a student in our medical school as a health worker, a veterinarian, an

anthropologist, and an agriculturist. They have gone regularly to villages to give them the benefit of knowledge acquired at the university and to persuade and assist them in improving agricultural, social, and health conditions. I am sure in the long run this will be the most effective way to counterbalance Communist influences. Better living conditions will mean the collapse of the Communist appeal for most of our people."

A. J. Shelat, a student of the Grant Medical College of the University of Bombay, is president of the National Union of Students of India. This is a strongly anti-Communist organization designed to combat the influence of the Communist All-India Federation of Students. Mr. Shelat estimates that less than 5 per cent of the 22,000 students in the University of Bombay and its affiliated colleges are active Communists, but that the percentage is considerably higher in several other universities, particularly at the University of Calcutta.

Another very active anti-Communist group at Bombay is the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and its affiliate the Democratic Research Service. It is composed of young intellectuals of both sexes including several instructors in Bombay colleges. The writer spent a most interesting and encouraging evening with their executive committee in learning of their efforts to counteract the Communist influence among the youth of India. They have been publishing a series of objective pamphlets which endeavor to present factually the truth about communism and its dangers for India. Also its chairman has been speaking, on request, before various groups of students at educational institutions throughout the country. They are eager to secure more literature from American colleges that will be helpful to them. More such constructive positive efforts are needed in many parts of the country if the Communist threat is to be met effectively.

At Bombay we attended a meeting at which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt addressed some 2,500 students and faculty and invited guests of the University of Bombay. The audience was perfectly attentive and respectful. In the question period following, which Mrs. Roosevelt suggested and which lasted longer than her main address, the questions had a strong Communist and anti-American bias.

At Allahabad, however, the home of Prime Minister Nehru, Mrs. Roosevelt had a less satisfactory experience. At the University of Allahabad she was given an honorary degree at a convocation on March 18, 1952, following which she was scheduled to speak at a meeting of students under the auspices of the Student Union. Prior to the meeting, however, a printed leaflet entitled "Open Letter to Mrs. Roosevelt" was widely distributed. It was signed by eleven Communist students including the vice-president of the Student Union and attacked Mrs. Roosevelt, quoting some of her previous statements, and demanding to know by what right she was speaking at the university. As a result Mrs. Roosevelt's hostess, Mme. Vijay Lakshmi Pandit (sister of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and former Ambassador of India to the United States), after telephonic consultation with her brother, canceled the scheduled meeting with the students, fearing that disturbances and possible violence or at least definite discourtesy might develop if the meeting were held. As a result nearly 6,000 students of the university staged a vigorous demonstration in front of Anand Bhawan, Mr. Nehru's ancestral home, where Mrs. Roosevelt was a guest. They shouted hostile slogans outside the gate and demanded that Mrs. Roosevelt speak to them. The police failed in their efforts to disperse the crowd, and Mme. Pandit found she could not pacify them. Confusion continued for an hour until finally Mrs. Roosevelt, at her own suggestion, went out and addressed the crowd for fifteen minutes. Student leaders then requested her to visit their Union Hall, which she did later where addresses of welcome and a printed scroll were presented to her.

At the demonstration at the Nehru residence, Mrs. Roosevelt referred to the Open Letter and said that the remarks ascribed to her had been taken out of their context and that actually she wanted to be with young people and know what they thought and felt. But she reminded the students that she was a guest of the state and her program was in the hands of officials who felt that under the circumstances the scheduled meeting might not be peaceful, hence their decision to cancel it. According to Mrs. Roosevelt's account of the "incident," as given in her syndicated column "My Day" which was published in the *Hindustan Times* almost three weeks later, the Open Letter to her "was written by

some of the Communist students and signed by a number of others who were probably only dupes." In this column she wrote further: "It is quite evident that these young people are frustrated, unable to find work to do, and brought up in a tradition of British education which provides them with a good classical education but rather little in the way of practical education which they can use today to serve their country more effectively." She closed her column with these words: "I hope that after my meeting with them the incident was closed."

The hope thus expressed by Mrs. Roosevelt, however, was hardly realized. She and Mme. Pandit and Mr. Nehru were far too prominent people for such an incident to be easily closed and forgotten. Mme. Pandit immediately resigned as an honorary member of the Student Union, and Mr. Nehru took the same action two weeks later in a pointed letter to the officials of the union. The union officials replied with a formal statement and supplementary papers and documents. More than a month later, Mr. Nehru wrote back to them in a letter which appeared widely in the Indian press. The *Delhi Express* for March 23 printed it in full under the three-column head "Discourtesy to Mrs. Roosevelt." In part, Mr. Nehru said:

I might inform you I was consulted by telephone on the day when Mrs. Roosevelt was to visit Allahabad University. I was told of a notice or letter issued by some members of the university union, including, I believe, the vice-president. That notice or letter appeared to me to be very improper. This was not a question of difference of views which everyone is entitled to have. It was in my opinion an act of discourtesy to a distinguished guest of a nation as well as in Allahabad a guest of mine. I advised, therefore, that in the circumstances it would be better for Mrs. Roosevelt not to go to the meeting. . . . You will observe in this matter that there is considerable difference of opinion between you and me. The papers you sent me also exhibit this difference of opinion in matters of courtesy and propriety to a marked degree. Hence I thought I was not in tune with the present membership and governing authority of the union and as a consequence requested you to remove my name from the list of honorary members of the union.

At the University of Delhi the writer was informed there was strong Communist influence among students and some of the professors. Communist students were regularly sent out into the field

to distribute literature and spread the gospel of communism to prove their loyalty to the cause. For this service they were given an allowance of 30 rupees (\$6.30) for six months. After such a period of rigorous initiation they might be admitted to membership in one of the small Communist cells.

At the University of Delhi, too, we learned of the policy of the Soviet Embassy to invite all students of the university during their senior year to a series of informal entertainments at the Embassy. About twenty are invited each week, they are greeted personally by the Soviet Ambassador, are given a variety of entertainment, shown an attractive Soviet film, served delicious refreshments, and supplied with appropriate literature to carry away with them. It is not surprising that many of them are won over by such a program. We ourselves saw in Bombay a most attractive Soviet film, faultlessly photographed in technicolor, which presented every aspect of life on the collective farms of Russia as carefree, happy, and satisfying—and superior in every way to the American way of life. The large audience in the theater was composed almost entirely of young people, probably a majority of them students.

Very effective, too, is the flood of Communist literature for sale at a pittance at bookstalls in all of the larger cities and most of the smaller ones and many of the towns and villages. The writer purchased at a sidewalk bookstall, within a block or two of the University of Bombay, a half-dozen most attractively printed and illustrated Communist magazines from Russia, China, and Czechoslovakia at three or four annas each (four or five cents). He was offered a *Life of Lenin*, attractively printed in large readable English type on a good quality of book paper, substantially bound in cloth, 210 pages, for 9 annas (11 cents). Lenin's complete works, in paper binding, can be secured for a rupee (21 cents).

At the American Embassy in New Delhi the writer was shown a recent list of "Soviet Books and Periodicals" obtainable from any of the seven principal branches of the People's Publishing House of Bombay (branches at Calcutta, Madras, Lucknow, Poona, New Delhi, Patna). This publishing house modestly claims that "Ours is the single biggest organization in India which serves all that is progressive in the world of Human Thought." Of a total

of 163 titles of bound volumes and pamphlets in this list, two-thirds of them could be purchased for less than one rupee (21 cents), and 89 of them for less than 8 annas (10 cents) each. Selected works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in two cloth-bound volumes, totaling 1,100 pages, were available at the equivalent of 45 cents a volume. Among the weekly or monthly Soviet magazines available in English may be mentioned *New Times*, *Soviet Union*, *Soviet Literature*, *Soviet Women*, and *Soviet Land*. The latter, a very attractive illustrated fortnightly publication, is also available in Hindi, Bengali, and Telugu, three of the principal languages of India. Many individuals, both Indian and American, stated that this Soviet literature, both pamphlet and periodical, was being widely purchased and avidly devoured by Indian students.

At the branch of the People's Publishing House in New Delhi, the writer obtained similar lists of "Books from New China" and "Books on India" also for sale at the same fantastically low prices. The explanation given him repeatedly was that these publications are all subsidized from outside sources, shipped into India as gifts, the local Communist organizations being allowed to keep all proceeds from their sale to finance their current program of activities against the government.

But not only is there a constant barrage of attractively written and printed literature in English and in several native Indian languages pouring into India from across her borders, there are also several Communist and near-Communist publications which appear weekly in the country and which are very popular with students. They are highly critical of America and England and also of the present government of India, and extremely favorable to Russia and China. Two of the best known and most widely read of these are *Cross Roads* and *Blitz*, both weekly papers published in Bombay. An issue of the *New Yorker* contained an extensive analysis of these two publications.³

Blitz claims a circulation of 70,000 copies with more than a half-million readers. It is particularly popular with university and college students and to some extent with secondary school stu-

³ E. J. Kahn, Jr., "The Wayward Press: The Cominform at Work," *New Yorker*, Jan. 12, 1952, pp. 50-62.

dents also on account of its breezy style and caustic comments. Ambassador Bowles states: "I am told that each copy of *Blitz*, which boasts a circulation around 60,000, is read by an average of ten students."⁴ A special feature is its weekly page of questions and answers, with a prize offered for the best question submitted each week. A few samples will indicate the nature of these and show their possible appeal to the student mind:

What is the real motive behind American aid to India?

They say it is "Enlightened Self-Interest." We cannot say if it is very enlightened, but we agree with the rest of the statement!

How can I go to America without money?

Apply to USIS⁵ for a leader grant or other such subsidy, promising that you will dutifully propagate anti-communism and the "American way of life"!

What is the secret behind Mrs. Roosevelt's mission to India?

The dark U.S. sins of U.S. commission and omission!

The issue of *Blitz* for February 16, 1952, has a full-page feature article with a five-column head "What's Wrong with Uncle Sham?" Subheads: "Are You Neurotic, Uncle Sham?" "American By-Word: Murder, Inc.," "American Films Reflect the Mood of a Diseased Society," "The Rope Round America's Neck." The conclusion of this vitriolic article reads: "Yes, I do feel Uncle Sam—or Uncle Sham—or Uncle Samson as he perhaps imagines himself to be—should get himself psychoanalyzed and root out this murder mania from his subconscious!"

In another recent issue, *Blitz*, under the heading "Warning to U.S.A. and Pandit Nehru," says:

We used to condemn British authors who spent a winter in India and then posed as authorities on Indian affairs. Here is Mrs. Roosevelt who spent a much shorter period in India and ventures to explain away the vote against Congress and for communism. She compares the Indian students of today with the American students of about 120 years ago. She advises the rulers of India that "education in India does require some changes to give the young people a wider field of activity in their training" and that "frustration is leading the young people of India to anything—even Fascism—that would relieve their frustration." She presumes to tell her people that communism is not spreading in India.

⁴ Bowles, *Ambassador's Report*, p. 308.

⁵ United States Information Service.

Blitz for March 15, 1952, thus reports the part taken by students in the elections in Andhra Province:

The past four years of Congress rule in Andhra brought great suffering to the students and teachers. The rise in the cost of living and education resulting out of the undemocratic policies of the Congress regime forced thousands of students to give up their studies. Every time the students rose up to demand better conditions of living and education, they had to face lathis⁶ and bullets. The general elections gave the students of Andhra the opportunity to work for the defeat of Congress rulers along with other democratic parties and organizations. Thousands of students plunged themselves into election work for the victory of the people's candidates of the People's Democratic Front.

Of the riots in Madras in December 1952 (as a result of which the central government agreed to the establishment of a separate state of Andhra), *Time* reported that "students, youths, and workers, led by Communists, attacked Indian government property, cut telegraph wires, damaged railroads, burned rail cars, stoned fire engines, looted railroad restaurants, hoisted black flags of mourning over government buildings. Police, firing on rioters, killed seven and wounded forty."⁷

A January issue of *Blitz* contained a full-page feature article with the five-column head "Miserable Lot of Our Teachers and Students under Congress Raj." Subheads were: "Words Don't Feed Bellies," "Bird of Passage Teachers," "Students and Teachers Starving," "Education by Elimination?," "Inquisition or Inquiry?," "Climate of Fear Cheated," and "Bullets or Books in Congress Raj."

Cross Roads reported a student strike in a college in Imphal under a three-column head "Police Goes into Action against Students in Imphal. 450 Arrested, 6 Injured." *Cross Roads* also printed a letter telling of a mock trial held at a college in Madras where two students impersonated Stalin and Truman, each pleading his cause before the court. The letter reports that the spokesman for Stalin was "ringingly cheered" but regarding the representative of Truman, "His speech was a damp squib, nobody being convinced by his arguments."

⁶ Five-foot bamboo poles, sometimes used as clubs.

⁷ *Time*, Dec. 29, 1952, p. 22.

One of the Communist pamphlets which has been widely circulated among students is *New Stage in India's Liberation Struggle*, by A. M. Dyakov. It boasts that the anti-British riots in Calcutta in 1945 were initiated by Communist students and that ever since 1935 the Communist party of India has extended its influence among student youth and a section of the intelligentsia.

Certain Communist and near-Communist publications edited by university students have asked the United States Information Service for its press releases and feature articles so that by publishing some of these with credit lines they may give the impression of being fair and impartial publications. Thus their insidious Communist literature will appear under the cloak of respectability and may, they think, have more influence than if they were frankly and avowedly Communist sheets.

There is as yet relatively little popular literature available, at a reasonable price, on the benefits of life in the democracies and on the democratic way of life. *Reader's Digest*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, *Life*, and *Collier's* and various British magazines are found in limited numbers on newsstands in the larger cities, but at prices about ten times that of most of the Soviet magazines mentioned above. It would require close to a day's wages or more for a laborer to purchase a single copy.

Perhaps the most important single publication which we saw was the eight-page weekly newspaper, the *American Reporter*, published in an edition of about 25,000 copies in English with editions also in the six most prominent native languages of India. It was published by the United States Information Service, contained a wealth of reliable news each week, attractively written, and was distributed free to a selected mailing list. That it has been effective in spreading democratic knowledge is best shown by the fact that hundreds of Communist students have written in to request free copies so that they may destroy them and thus keep it from fulfilling its intended purpose. The many requests of this nature that were received, phrased in identical language, showed how well disciplined the Communist students were.

In February 1952 Mr. Clifford Manshardt, roving cultural officer for the American Embassy at New Delhi, completed a three-week trip among 20 universities and colleges in East Punjab during

which he spoke 32 times to groups of students numbering about 10,000. Usually his speeches were followed by extended question periods. In the first two weeks of March he visited 25 educational institutions in the former princely state of Rajasthan, including several high schools as well as colleges. In this former princely state many relics of the old feudalism still survive. In many of the colleges, both here and in the Punjab, Mr. Manshardt's voice was the first non-Indian one ever to be heard in a public address. He found the Communist element less apparent in Rajasthan than in the Punjab, although very evident in both provinces. The Communist students, he said were well primed with distorted information about America and ready and eager to ask numerous critical questions. The questions asked Mr. Manshardt on his Punjab trip are highly illuminating and illustrate the attitude of too many Indian students toward the United States. Following are a few examples:

Do Negroes have equal opportunities for education in the United States? [Asked over and over.]

How many Negroes were lynched in the United States last year?

Why are American college professors being thrown out of their jobs because they do not take loyalty oaths? Is there no freedom of speech?

Why doesn't the United States join with Russia in peace movements?

Do American students take part in politics?

Are American students allowed to discuss communism?

How are you treating the American Indians?

How are students from India treated in the United States?

Can a Negro enter government service in the United States?

Do American colleges discriminate against students who are Communists?

Do you think communism would better the lot of the American worker?

Why does America consider communism a threat to world peace?

How do you account for the lack of cultural development in America?

Why is the American government stopping China's admission into the United Nations?

Are American students being taught to prepare atom bombs?

Why is America spending so much money in Asia? Is it just out of the goodness of your hearts?

Why is Paul Robeson being persecuted by the United States government?

Are you Americans afraid of Russian communism? Why?

Is it true that more than half the annual income of the United States

is going into the making of atom bombs?
Are any courses on the life and thought of India offered in American colleges?

An American educator with many years of experience in various Indian cities has recently visited a large number of educational institutions and conferred with hundreds of students and professors in northern India. He talked freely and at length with the writer. He preferred not to be quoted by name, but he made the following very pertinent observations as a result of his recent experiences:

There is a tremendous interest among Indian students in the United States and things American.

Many students have acquired a few half-truths about the United States from various sources, but few have any clear ideas about American life and thought.

There is a well-coached Communist section among Indian students. This section can put its finger on the sore spots in our American life.

There is a general impression among the pink fringe of students that communism in India need have no connection with communism in Russia.

There is a very large amount of unrealistic and wishful thinking in academic circles, particularly among vocal faculty members. There is too much of the feeling: "Democracy is good. Communism is good. Let us live and let live."

There is a definite feeling in academic circles that the United States is politically unsophisticated and hysterical and that India's attitude of tolerance is superior.

A great number of Indian professors are in the half-way stage. Theoretically they dislike communism, but practically they are not prepared to fight it. They think that the United States is unduly excited. They dissociate theoretical communism from Russian imperialism. They have an "It can't happen here" attitude.

Communist literature and Communist bookstalls are found in every bazaar. Unfortunately American literature is not penetrating the inner bazaars.

What of the future? It is clear in India that Mr. Churchill's characterization of communism as "a riddle wrapped up in a mystery inside of an enigma" is hardly true. The pattern, the methods, the objectives, the threat to democratic government in the country are all too clear. The increasingly important part that students may play in it is also too clear. The plans of Communist

student and other youth organizations were thus reported in *Blitz* for March 1, 1952:

A meeting of various student and youth organizations was held recently in Bombay, where it was decided to call a conference of Bombay youth sometime in July of this year, for the purpose of bringing together all sections of youth on one platform for their common rights and common interests.

The names of a score or more of organizations are then given, followed by the statement:

The coming together of so many youth organizations representing diverse sections of youth in Bombay is a great step in further strengthening the unity of youth to work together in mutual cooperation for their common interests.

In view of the recent elections, many thoughtful observers in India with whom we talked feel that the Congress party had five and only five years in which to markedly improve the economic situation, better agricultural conditions, provide employment for young university graduates, and reform and extend the educational system. This is a large order, and India will certainly need the sympathetic understanding and support of other democratic nations if it is to achieve them even in part.

Many, perhaps most, of India's 360,000,000 people are not happy or contented with present conditions. Hunger, poverty, ignorance, disease, and superstition are rife. Perhaps many of these millions expect the impossible. But if marked improvement in their condition is not made in this five-year period, there are grave fears that when new elections are due, communism, with its alluring promises, may take over instead. The forces of democracy need to carry out a more positive program of spreading reliable knowledge regarding the democratic way of life and its benefits, particularly among the young people in the colleges and universities—the potential leaders of the future.

Pakistan

The newly organized Dominion of Pakistan with a population of seventy-five million (approximately half that of the United States) is the largest Muslim country in the world. Some of its

unique problems arise from the fact that it consists of two non-contiguous areas with almost a thousand miles of none-too-friendly India separating them. Communication is possible only by air, over India, or by a sea journey of some 3,000 miles around southern India and Ceylon. East Pakistan (consisting of the province of East Bengal and part of Assam) is only one-seventh of the area of the country but contains more than half of the population. West Pakistan (consisting of the provinces of West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier, the new Federal District, and certain tribal territories and small native states) contains the capital of the new country, Karachi, and its cultural center, Lahore, capital of the Punjab before partition. During this period millions of Muslims and Hindus transferred from one side of the newly established boundaries to the other. More than a half-million died and twelve million were made homeless in the violence and carnage that accompanied partition.

Dacca, the metropolis of East Pakistan, is only 150 miles from the Communist stronghold of Calcutta with which it was closely associated, economically and culturally, before partition. On the east, the province borders on Burma, where Communist elements are so strong. It is easy for Communist agents to cross to East Pakistan from either its eastern or western border.

The literacy rate in Pakistan is not over 12 percent for men, 6 percent for women, or less than 10 percent for the entire population. The peoples of various provinces speak a variety of languages, including Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, and a number of minor ones.

Ideologically the Pakistan government with its background of the Muslim League is strongly opposed to communism. Its bases upon a belief in one God, Allah, and upon the equality and dignity of man are concepts quite at variance with Communist practices. In the debate in the country's Constitutional Assembly in March 1949 on the objectives of the new constitution, Sardar Abdur Rab Nashtar, Minister of Communications, said that between capitalism and communism, Islamic democracy offered a third way. He said, in part: "If you are really serious in opposing capitalism as represented by certain countries of the West, and communism as represented by Russia, then we may put forward

an alternative social system. We, the Muslims, believe that a society based upon Islamic principles of freedom, equality, and social justice for men and women, rich and poor, everybody, our own citizens and foreigners, can be the best alternative."

And Liaquat Ali, the late Prime Minister, in the same debate was equally emphatic. "When we use the word 'democracy' in the Islamic sense," he said, "it pervades all aspects of our life; it relates to our system of government and to our society with equal validity because one of the greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea of the equality of all men."

Pakistan, even more than India, is suffering from disrupted economic conditions, high illiteracy, and the problems arising from a variety of major languages. The tragic quarrel between India and Pakistan has been damaging to both, but decidedly helpful to the forces of communism and anarchy. The specious promises of communism have made a strong appeal to many bewildered and easily led students, particularly in East Pakistan, so close to Calcutta.

Of the twenty-one major universities in India at the time of partition, only three were located in the present Pakistan—Dacca in East Pakistan, and Sind and Punjab in West Pakistan. The latter, located at Lahore, had the greatest prestige and highest standards. Two new universities have been organized, Karachi and Peshawar. All branches of education, but especially the universities and colleges, lost heavily at the time of partition with the wholesale exodus of Hindus, many of whom were among the most distinguished professors in the universities. For example, Dr. Basir Ahmed of Punjab University (with a doctor's degree in chemistry from Johns Hopkins University) told the writer in a long interview at Lahore that 135 of the staff of 150 members of the faculty of the university left Lahore for India. In the department of chemistry only one of the original staff of seventeen was left. Standards necessarily dropped markedly. The losses were almost as great in Dacca and Sind Universities.

Pakistan has some 127 colleges affiliated with its present five universities. Most of these also suffered severe loss of instructional staff. The West Punjab lost at least three-quarters of its doctors, dentists, and nurses. Medical and dental colleges and schools of

nursing have had to be largely restaffed and reorganized.

At the same time that hundreds of Hindu professors were fleeing from the country, thousands of Muslim students were pouring in from India. At the Lahore Women's College there were 200 Muslim intermediate students after partition as compared with 12 before. The problem of providing for swollen enrollments with depleted staffs was almost overwhelming.

Conditions were chaotic for many months. It was not until the cease-fire order of January 1, 1949, that constructive efforts to repair the damage and to restore and improve the educational system became possible. Remarkable progress has been made in the five years since that date.

The language of West Pakistan is prevailingly Urdu, while that of East Pakistan (with its more than half of the population) is Bengali. After considerable debate, Urdu has been established as the official language of the country as best meeting the varied requirements of a *lingua franca*, but the people of East Pakistan understandably are averse to giving up the use of their own language locally, nor is there any intention that they shall be forced to do so.

Misunderstandings have arisen, however, over the matter, and the Communist elements have been quick to seize upon the issue for their own purposes and to magnify it, as best illustrated by the Dacca University student riots and other disturbances which took place in Dacca in February 1952. Various and conflicting accounts of these events have been given, and some individuals even told the writer they were convinced the Communists had nothing to do with them. By all odds the best account, however, it seems to the writer, was that contained in a speech by the Chief Minister for East Bengal, Mr. Nurul Amin. A month after the riots he made an extensive statement before the legislative assembly of the state reviewing in detail the whole occurrence. It not only gives a clear and dispassionate account of the facts in connection with these unfortunate occurrences but illustrates as clearly as possible Communist tactics and methods. It may be read with interest and profit by thoughtful individuals far removed from Dacca and Pakistan, for Communist tactics are not local but world-wide.

The statement of Mr. Amin, which appeared in full in the *Civil and Military Gazette* for March 25 and 26, is far too long to quote here. Because of its official nature, however, and its clear statement of facts, portions are worth quoting, particularly those that relate to the part played by Dacca University students and professors.

I shall deal with nature and genesis of the disturbances that took place in Dacca during the last week of February and the measures taken by the Government to meet the situation. . . . At the outset I must inform the House that what appeared on the surface to be an innocent and indeed legitimate agitation in favor of Bengali, was in actual fact a device to cloak a determined attempt to overthrow the Government by force, to create commotion throughout the Province, and to deal a blow at the very security of Pakistan.

Although it was on February 21 that the public in Dacca saw the first indication of their plan of action, preparations had been going on before that date. . . . Long and detailed preparations to that end had been made. For many months past subversive elements had been active in the university, misleading our boys. They had been on the lookout for a suitable opportunity. In the language question, with its strong emotional appeal, they found both this opportunity and an excellent cover under which to hide their nefarious designs. . . . It became crystal clear that the language question was of no consequence at all to those who had planned these disturbances except as a device to deceive the public into supporting or sympathising with their own criminal designs.

On February 21, a crowd of students and members of the public were incited and prevailed upon to come into violent clash with the police in the vicinity of Dacca Medical College. Three persons were killed, of whom only one, not two as was previously represented to the Government, was a student. Almost in the twinkling of an eye thereafter the wildest rumors as to the number of casualties were spread throughout the town. The number of dead and injured was grossly exaggerated and by the following day the town was flooded with subversive leaflets and the most inflammatory placards written in red ink in the familiar Communist vein, demanding vengeance.

Soon after the firing on February 21, all Dacca newspapers were individually threatened in order to secure their support to denounce and vilify the Government. Lest these papers should think that these threats were empty, the press of the *Morning News* was set on fire the following day and completely destroyed to serve as an object lesson to other papers. . . .⁸

⁸ University students are given credit for this act by Communist sources.

It has become clear to everybody as it was to my government from the very beginning that the real issue here was not whether Bengali should be one of the State languages. Those who had planned the disturbances were in fact determined to overthrow the government by intimidation and coercion and, if necessary, by violence. . . .

Some of the ringleaders of this conspiracy, both inside the university and outside, were then arrested in Dacca. These included five members of this House. . . . As the university had failed to maintain order within its premises, where open defiance of law and incitement to violence was being preached by students and outsiders through microphones, the police entered the university area and seized the microphones. Among other measures taken to deal with this lawlessness was a search of Slaimullah Muslim Hall, the center from which lawless activities were being directed. In the course of this search, huge quantities of subversive leaflets, which must have been printed and collected over a long period, and an unlicensed gun were recovered.

Due to the measures taken by the Government and to the great tact and patience displayed by the District authorities and the army and the police force in executing these measures, as from February 24, when the Government decided to act, the situation in Dacca was brought back to normal within 24 hours. . . .

By the action we have taken in dealing with subversive elements who had planned to overthrow the Government by force, my Government has saved the Province from disaster and chaos. Indeed we have saved democracy from a most insidious threat and we have strengthened Pakistan. The immediate danger to the peace of this Province has been averted, but the danger to our freedom is not entirely over. Certain lawless elements are still at large and may attempt to create similar situations again. There are indications that they may even turn to terrorism in an attempt to create alarm amongst our people to weaken Pakistan.

If any doubt should remain in the minds of anyone regarding the insidious Communist part in these disturbances, it is removed by a brief quotation from *Swadhinata*, the Calcutta daily paper which is the mouthpiece of the Communist party in that city. In two articles from its special correspondent, dated March 10 and 11, this paper gives a detailed account of how the Communist party had from time to time exploited various issues designed to incite the people against the government of East Bengal. With reference to the recent disturbances in Dacca, the article says:

From the very beginning the Communist party in East Bengal has assisted in conducting the language movement towards the *right direc-*

tion. The Communist party had assisted in forming all party language committees and in making the language movement an extensive one in every district. There is *no doubt* that *much of the credit* for turning the language movement in East Bengal into a united mass movement in opposition to the various conspiracies is *due to the Communists there*. [Italics not in the original.]

True to form, *Cross Roads* comments editorially on the Dacca riots:

The magnificent struggle being conducted by the students of Dacca and East Bengal for the right to have their own native tongue, Bengali, as one of the State languages, has evoked the admiration and support of students of India and outside. "On behalf of over five million students in 71 countries we express full solidarity with you," says a warm message to the students of East Pakistan from the International Students Union.

Commenting on the statement of the Chief Minister of East Bengal, extracts from which have been quoted above, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, the leading daily of Lahore, said editorially on March 27:

It sounds a loud enough alarm for the most complacent to note that the Communist offensive against Pakistan has already started and that the abortive attempt at Dacca to overthrow the East Bengal government was the first round in the battle. . . . For months in advance the ground was prepared by rousing the students' passions on the language issue and the agitation was cleverly piloted toward the objective—the overthrow of the government. . . . We have to deal with a foe known to be a past master in the art of agitation and disruption. This puts on trial the whole of the Islamic genius of our people. . . . It is a trial of strength between two conflicting forces—Islam standing for constructiveness, Communism for disruption and disintegration.

As a result of the riots educational institutions in East Bengal were closed for several weeks. At least 108 students and professors of Dacca University were lodged in jail for three weeks, after which most of them were released. Most prominent of the professors was Dr. P. C. Chakarvarti, head of the department of international relations of the university, one of the outstanding leaders in the disturbances. He was released on March 26 on the grounds of ill health, more than a month after the riots occurred.

Unfortunately the writer did not have the opportunity to visit

East Pakistan in person. He did, however, spend some time in West Pakistan and talked with educational leaders in Karachi and Lahore.

A. B. Haleen, vice-chancellor of the new Karachi University, in discussing the University of Dacca riots and their basis in the language controversy, stated in somewhat nonacademic but very expressive language that "the Communists have a remarkable facility for sticking their noses into any popular issue and making it their own." Continuing he said:

"There is undoubtedly some Communist influence among the students in most or at least many of the eleven colleges in Karachi which are constituents of the university. The best way to fight this influence, in my judgment, is through the improvement of informal and personal relations between professors and students. Such relationships are too formal at present. We need more hostels where students and professors can live together and associate on an informal basis. As far as I know there are no Communists among the faculties of the colleges in Karachi. Another bad factor is the flood of Communist literature which is available to students on the newsstands at a nominal price. This tends to distort their views since there is little literature from the democratic countries to counteract this influence."

Mr. S. A. Rehman at Lahore occupies the dual position of Justice of the High Court and vice-chancellor of Punjab University. Somewhat cautiously he observed:

"In the educational sphere there have been some disquieting manifestations of a desire to throw overboard restrictive rules and regulations. The danger is that the enthusiasm and sentimentalism of our youth may be exploited by unscrupulous politicians for their own ends and to the detriment of educational progress. It is true that the virus of indiscipline seems to have acquired greater operational effectiveness since the dawn of our freedom from foreign rule but that appears to be only the first reaction of a pent-up energy released by the forces of independence."

Mr. M. Bashir, registrar of Punjab University, stated that he knew of no Communist professors in the university and that the few Communist students had not as yet been a disturbing influence in the institution.

Subsequent to our visit to Pakistan, however, student riots also broke out in West Pakistan, at Karachi, in January 1953. These riots started by excitable students demanding lower tuition fees and better educational facilities. They swarmed off in a crowd to protest in person to the Minister of Education but were stopped by police with clubs and tear-gas. All schools and colleges were closed for several days. Authorities differed on the question of whether the riots were instigated by Communist agitators. There was no question, however, that Communist agents soon assumed the leadership, and little was heard about student grievances by the end of the third day when Communists were in complete control of the rioters. Prime Minister Nazimuddin had previously warned the students to beware of people "with evil desires." When order was restored to the city it was found that many business houses, including wine shops and arms stores, had been looted and at least 11 (another report said 16), including several students, were dead and over 100 injured, half of them police.

Pakistan also has its People's Publishing House in Karachi where Communist party "literature and books by progressive writers" are sold at nominal prices. Although Communist literature both in India and Pakistan (and also in Ceylon, see below) is cheap and plentiful, by all odds the best counter-influence which the writer found anywhere in these countries was the *Free World*, edited in Pakistan by Richard Weeks of the United States Information Service at Karachi. It was reported to be the second-best-selling English magazine in Pakistan although it had been in existence less than a year. Unfortunately it was necessary to price it at eight annas instead of three or four annas which is the cost of the attractive Communist magazines already referred to.

Each monthly issue of *Free World* consists of 48 pages of interesting text and attractive halftones admirably printed on calendered stock. The March 1952 issue contained no less than ninety illustrations, an average of almost two to a page. It was started in July 1951 but was quickly making a name for itself throughout Pakistan. For example the *Khyber Mail* said concerning it:

Free World treats Asians on a basis of equality not only with non-Asians but among themselves too. It gives just estimates of the national pride and aspirations of Asians as a whole, and what is most important

of all it shows that the U.S.A. has in view aims other than purely materialistic or strategic and that it wishes to be judged by its efforts to achieve those humanitarian and ennobling aims.

What is the nature of the contents of a magazine which has evoked such a favorable and discriminating analysis and appreciation from a Pakistani editor? The magazine contains a variety of articles dealing with the activities of Pakistani students or residents in the United States, aspects of democracy in America, and significant developments in Pakistan. Some of the articles are written by Pakistani authors.

India and Pakistan have much in common, even though unfortunately divided on the matter of religion, the basic reason for the partition of 1947. But ideologically, economically, culturally, and educationally their interests are similar. They could cooperate in combating the menace of communism in many constructive ways if they would. But at least until the Kashmir dispute is settled, which now has been hanging fire for five years, both countries will tend to remain in a state of unsettled emergency and mutual distrust. Cooperation is needed in meeting the common threat from the Communist forces instead of continued and growing suspicion and distrust of each other.

Ceylon

Fortunately Ceylon is much more favorably situated in many respects than either of its two northern neighbors, India and Pakistan. Economically its position is better. The percentage of literacy is higher. It is farther removed geographically from Communist influences. It is not free from them, however, as we learned during an extensive tour of this fascinating island, with its almost eight million inhabitants also striving to establish a responsible democratic government since it achieved freedom, like its two northern neighbors, only six short years ago.

"Vociferous but ineffective," is the way Professor F. L. Greene, of the University of Ceylon, characterized student Communist influences and activities at the university in conversation with the writer. Professor Greene was a visiting professor of education on leave from the University of Manchester, England. The vice-

chancellor of the university, Sir Ivor Jennings, gave much the same impression although in less concise terms, as reported below.

But even if Communist student activities may properly be characterized as "ineffective," the general political situation as regards communism in Ceylon may better be characterized as frequently both vociferous and effective. The House of Representatives consists of 101 members. Of these only three are representatives of the Communist party—the official Stalinist party. Much stronger is the Nava Lanka Sama Samaja party (New Ceylon Equality-of-Status party), which has sixteen representatives in the House. This is a strong and vigorous Trotskyist party. These two Communist groups with other left-wing adherents could muster twenty to twenty-five opposition votes in the House. They were making a strong bid for increased power in the national elections to be held last year, influenced in part by the surprising increases in strength shown by the Communists in India in their national elections, particularly in southern India, so close to Ceylon. Fully a third of the population of the island are Tamils from southern India or descendants of such Tamils. The extensive rubber and tea estates are worked almost exclusively by Tamils, where low wages fertilize Communist agitation.

Dr. N. M. Perara, leader of the LSSP, and his party members even refused to vote for the formal motion of condolence passed by the House upon the occasion of the sudden death of King George VI of Great Britain (and Ceylon). Before the vote was taken, he stated: "The government has needlessly introduced controversial political matters in the motion and therefore the Opposition regret that they are unable to associate themselves with the motion." To an observer from the outside, however, it was difficult to find a single word in the formal resolution of condolence which had even remote political implications.

Of distinct educational significance is the fact that Dr. Perara was a member of the University of Ceylon Council of some fifty members, the ultimate board of control of the university. So was Pieter Kunemann, leader of the Communist party. There were two recognized leaders of the LSSP party, Dr. Perara and Mr. Doric De Souza. Mr. De Souza was also a lecturer at the University of Ceylon in the field of English literature. Sir Ivor Jennings did not

feel that the presence of these three men on his faculty and board of control was undesirable. In fact, he characterized their influence as "healthy" and "helpful." He felt that they were not using their university positions to spread Communist doctrines and influence even though they were so strongly anti-government in their political activities.

Asked about Communist influences among the students, Sir Ivor said that the Student Union, whose organization and activities were controlled by the students, subject only to general university regulations, had frequent discussions of communism in their meetings. He had insisted on the right to such free discussions, subject only to the restriction that reporters for the city press should not be present and that the results of their debates should not be published in the local papers. Such meetings, he felt, gave the students an excellent opportunity to "blow off steam." He said that frequently vigorous resolutions on the subject were drawn up and submitted to the university authorities. His policy was to "treat them lightly" and reply to them in a "humorous or at least not-too-serious vein."

The library of the Student Union, examined cursorily by the writer while waiting for his interviews, showed scores of titles on communism, Marxism, the Soviet Union, and related subjects, and the state of their covers and pages would indicate that they had had extensive use by students. The vice-chancellor said that the control of the union was in the hands of Communist students a few years ago but that this was not true today. Whether the policies he described in dealing with Communist influences in the university have resulted in rendering them really "ineffective" or whether other factors account for this result, the fact remains that no acts of student violence, no strikes, no overt acts, such as have characterized student bodies in several other countries visited, have been reported at the university during the six years of Ceylon's independence.

Mr. A. M. K. Cumaraswamy, the genial registrar of the University of Ceylon, corroborated most of Sir Ivor's characterizations of the situation. He said that many of the students who showed marked Communist tendencies during their student days tended to forget them and settle down as substantial citizens loyal to

the government as soon as they graduated, particularly if they secured government positions, the principal field at present open to university graduates. Young women comprise about one-fifth of the student body of the university. Communist sentiments are found among them in about the same proportion as among the men students. But they also tend to "settle down" after graduation, according to Mr. Cumaraswamy. "My own daughter was a pronounced Communist during her student days here at the university," he said, "but now that she is married, she has settled down and forgotten it!"

With reference to conditions in the many secondary schools of the country, both government and private, Mr. M. M. Kulasekaram, vice-principal of Royal College in Colombo, the leading government secondary school for boys, said he knew of very little Communist influence or interest among the boys. "They are too busy with their studies," he said, "with their extensive athletic programs, and are too young as yet to have much, if any, interest in any political questions." Mr. Kulasekaram has had some thirty years of educational experience in different parts of the island. He said that there had been a few cases of secondary teachers with marked Communist tendencies, but they had been shifted to new positions and, if they did not show improvement in their attitudes, had been quietly eliminated from the system. None as far as he knew, had been active in attempting to spread Communist doctrines in the schools in which they had been teaching.

Ceylon also has an ample supply of Communist literature from outside sources as well as a local paper, the so-called *People's Voice*. This is now in its third volume and is published twice a week at Colombo. It is devoted to a vigorous campaign for a United Communist Front and is, of course, anti-government, anti-American, anti-British, and pro-Soviet. It is widely read by university students who have plenty of opportunity to absorb its semiweekly doses of virulent poison. It abounds in slighting references to "Anglo-American imperialism," "Yankee murderers," "American-inspired propaganda," "lies and slanders from the American Embassy," "Christian civilizers of the free world," and so forth. A two-column head says: "Yanks Opposed to Ceylon's Entry into the U.N."

The most effective counter-influence to date in Ceylon is an edition of *Free World* similar to the one described above for Pakistan, but especially tailored to the needs and interests of the Singhalese people. It was edited by Bruce Palmer of the United States Information Service at Colombo. It was described by one of its readers as "the best magazine to come into the bookstalls of Ceylon in many years."

Mr. Stanli Gogerly is an important Communist youth leader in Ceylon. He is secretary of the Ceylon Federation of Democratic Youth and was chairman of the Ceylon youth delegation which recently visited for six weeks in China as a guest of the People's Republic of China. A few extracts from an article which he wrote after his return to Ceylon, "My Impressions of New China," will be of interest:

Our six weeks' stay in China has been an unforgettable experience for every member of our delegation—the first Ceylon youth delegation to go to this great country. Never before, except in the Soviet Union, have we seen such determined constructive efforts, such bold confidence in the future, and such enthusiastic support for the government from all sections of the people. . . .

We saw the patriotic fervor of the youth of China, their remarkable capacity for organization, and the self-sacrificing yet confident spirit in which they took upon their young shoulders the most varied responsibilities. . . . In the schools and universities, we saw the doors of education being ever more widely opened to the masses of the people.

...

I could not help contrasting the happiness of the people of New China with the condition of my own people in Ceylon. In view of these conditions, it is no surprise that the influence of the Chinese revolution should find its way into our country, wielding a tremendous influence over the oppressed masses, particularly the youth. . . .

Seeing the great transformation of China, Ceylonese youth have been awakened to the fact that happiness and peace do not drop from heaven, but that they must be striven for with the same heroism with which the Chinese and Korean peoples are battling for peace and preserving their happiness by resisting American aggression in Korea. . . .

The Chinese people are indeed fortunate to have found a great leader in Mao Tse-tung . . . whose magnificent leadership in bringing China's revolution to victory inspires the people of all colonial and dependent countries in Asia and makes him truly the hope of nascent Asia.

With such sentiments being widely disseminated among the youth throughout the island of Ceylon, it is quite evident that the "Enchanted Isle," as its people like to call it (and with good reason, we felt), is not free from the menace of communism any more than is India or Pakistan.

6. The Middle East

IRAN IRAQ LEBANON SYRIA
JORDAN TURKEY

THE MIDDLE EAST is the bridge between three continents and has been the gateway between the West and the East for uncounted centuries past. The term "Middle East" seems to be somewhat flexible and ill-defined. It is used in this article to refer to Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Turkey—all visited by the writer in May and June 1952. The term "Near East" is used by some writers to cover essentially the same area. These six countries have a combined population of over 50,000,000.

Iran and Turkey border for hundreds of miles on the territory of the Soviet Union, and none of the six is far removed from Soviet influence. As one travels westward, however, from Iran into the distinctly Arab states of Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon, anti-American sentiment becomes increasingly evident, not primarily because of Communist ideology but rather because of disappointment and indignation at the attitude and actions of the United States on the Palestine question.

In most of this area communism has been officially outlawed, but this has not prevented—rather it has encouraged—a more or less active and intense underground movement, particularly on the part of university students. For the great bulk of the population, devoutly Muslim, Marx cannot compete with Allah, nor Stalin with Mohammed. To many of them, however, Zionism is a far greater menace than communism. But there is an effective

minority in most of these countries who find the promises of communism attractive and who are being influenced to utilize it as a potent means of expressing their anti-American, anti-British, and anti-imperialism sentiments.

Iran

The principal educational institution of Iran is the University of Tehran with nine faculties and an enrollment of approximately 5,000 students. There has been much unrest among the students, intensely nationalistic and antiforeign as they are, although, according to the estimate of the chancellor, Dr. Aki Akbar Siassi, the actual number of Communists among them is not over 5 percent. But in the Woman's College, Miss Hanna, an American teacher on a Fulbright grant for 1951-52, estimated to the writer that fully half of the students were Communists.

A regular practice, since the organization of the university in 1935, has been for the Shah to attend the commencement exercises and award the diplomas and prizes to the graduates. In 1949, however, while he was engaged in this ceremony an attempt on his life was made. He was wounded by three bullets fired at him by a Communist would-be assassin. The city was immediately placed under martial law and a curfew instituted. The incident was linked with student protests over the matter of British oil concessions. Since that time the Shah has participated in no commencement exercises, and the Tudeh (Communist) party, organized in 1941, has been legally outlawed. Many Tudeh party members were imprisoned or condemned to death *in absentia*. The Minister of Education in February 1950 charged the Tudeh party with sabotage in setting fire to various public buildings, and ninety-two members of the party were arrested. Members of the party, including many university students, have continued their underground propaganda in an attempt to arouse the people against their government.

In the fall of 1951 the thirty members of the university senate (chancellor, deans, and elected professors) were locked in a university office by Communist students and kept there for twelve hours without food, water, or toilet facilities, and threatened with

bodily harm or death in an effort to enforce their demands for "reforms" in the administration of the university. Finally, after police action the senate members were freed. Following this incident the university was closed for three weeks.

In March 1952 there were further riots in Tehran, participated in by a reported 10,000 students in protest against the alleged use of germ warfare in Korea, leaving 12 dead and 250 injured. Further demonstrations by university and secondary students followed every few days for several weeks.

Three students were killed on the campus of the University of Tehran on December 7, 1953, when Iranian troops fired on demonstrating anti-British students. Thirty leaders of the demonstration were arrested. The government stated that most of the students involved in the disorders were Communists. The military governor said that when the students attempted to disarm the soldiers who were trying to disperse them, the soldiers were forced to fire upon them.

Dr. Mehdi M. Jelali is professor of psychology at the University of Tehran. He holds a Ph.D. degree from Columbia University. In an interview with the writer he said:

"I feel there is a great need for improvement of teacher-student relationships in our university. We have no concept of the American practice of informal relationships outside of the classroom. Closer contact with professors would help to keep students from going off on Communist lines.

"Following the attempt on the life of the Shah, the separate faculties of the university met and each one voted to discharge all Communist professors. Six or seven were dismissed as a result. Two or three more are now interested in communism. They are being investigated and watched carefully. I think it probable that they will be let out in the near future."

"Are conditions getting better or worse?" the writer asked Dr. Jelali. He replied:

"I am sorry to say that, in my judgment, they are getting worse. The basic trouble is economic. Now 5 percent of the people own 95 percent of the wealth of the country. The appeal of communism

will get stronger unless the government improves economic conditions. But the government is weak and appears to have little power for constructive reform.

"I am a teacher, not only in the university but also in the Teachers College, in the Woman's College, and in another institution. Yet I do not earn enough from all four jobs to support myself and my family decently. Even I might be tempted to become a Communist if economic conditions do not improve in the future!"

Dr. Abdollah Faryar was director of the United Nations Information Center in Tehran. He is a native Persian and has a Ph.D. from Columbia University. He had been in his present position for two years but expected to return in a few months to the New York office of the United Nations. He talked freely concerning the conditions in Iran. He said:

"In my judgment the situation here is the worst in any country in the Middle East."

"Is it getting better or worse?" asked the writer. In reply Dr. Faryar said:

"I regret to say that I can see no evidence of improvement. I am not particularly worried about the appeal of communism to the workers of the country, but I am to the young intellectuals. Communism seems to have a very alluring appeal, with its many rosy promises, to the youth of Iran, dissatisfied with present economic and social conditions. I feel that a reform of the entire educational system is needed.

"Student riots are now capitalizing on the Tunisian situation. Students resent especially the refusal of the U.N. to place the question of Tunisia on the agenda for discussion. They tend to identify the U.N. with imperialism and the support of the old colonial powers. They extend their hatred of the British to Americans in many instances, because they feel that America is supporting England and France.

"The Communist effort lately has been concentrated on teachers and students in the schools—in both the university and the secondary schools. It is true that the Tudeh party has been outlawed, but we have now instead the 'Young Democrats,' the 'Supporters of

Peace,' and so forth. Communists are using at least three different methods in their efforts: (1) Through teachers in the secondary schools and university. I judge that 40 percent of the teachers are Communist sympathizers. (2) Through publications. Many books and pamphlets are in circulation, not only translations from the Russian but, more subtly, from French and American books. Howard Fast's *Freedom Road* is particularly popular. Both students and professors are hungry for recent literature and grasp anything available in Persian. (3) Through sponsorship of exhibits of Soviet paintings. This is done to encourage young artists of Iran.

"The students badly need modern food for thought. The United States Information Library in Tehran is excellent, but no Communist student would dare be seen in it. It is also limited to those who are able to read English. Thus, it reaches mostly those who do not need convincing. Our office is distributing U.N. literature through various agencies and I trust it is doing some good.

"But there is great need for two things: (1) to give guidance and help to writers and translators; (2) to subsidize the publication of desirable books in Persian. The maximum edition feasible for a book published in Tehran is 5,000 copies. Even if they are all sold, the returns are not sufficient to pay the publisher for his actual costs. Such books cannot be printed unless the publisher receives supplementary income. Such supplementary financing is freely furnished by Soviet sources—hence the wealth of Communist literature available on the streets in the Persian language. These publications are being bought and eagerly devoured by professors and students."

Many Communist magazines were also available in Persian. These and a variety of special pamphlets continued to attack America. The special point of attack while the writer was in Tehran was the then new Point Four program. Such literature has a particular appeal to the youth of the country anxious to find a scapegoat for their unhappy situation.

It was commonly understood that Dr. Mossadegh's power as Prime Minister rested increasingly on the support of the police and the Tehran mob—the latter consisting chiefly of students, workers, and small merchants organized in the main by the out-

lawed but still active Tudeh party. Many Tudeh party members succeeded in infiltrating into the government, particularly in the important Ministries of Education, Finance, Health, and Posts and Telegraphs.

When the Mossadegh régime was suddenly overthrown by the army in the fall of 1953 thousands of Communist publications were seized in Tehran in the anti-Communist drive ordered by General Zahedi, the new Prime Minister. A lorry load of books taken by the police in two raids in the heart of the city was burned. Many Tudeh adherents who had infiltrated into the Education and other ministries were weeded out. The Tudeh party not only is still officially outlawed but its underground influence, tolerated if not actively welcomed under the Mossadegh régime, has been greatly lessened under the present government.

The United States Information Library features a special shelf of anti-Communist literature in a prominent location near the entrance, with the following notice in large type:

IN VIEW OF INQUIRIES RECEIVED, THIS SHELF IS RESERVED FOR PUBLICATIONS EXPOSING THE AGGRESSIVE OBJECTIVES OF COMMUNISM AND THE METHODS EMPLOYED BY INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM AND BY ITS AGENTS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

No such display of anti-Communist literature was found in any of the dozens of USIS libraries in Asiatic and other countries visited by the writer in the past three years. But as Dr. Faryar points out, it is not seen by Communist students.

Iraq

Dr. Mohammed H. al-Yassim, of the Iraqi Ministry of Education, claimed that there was very little communism among either professors or students in the half-dozen colleges of the small nation of Iraq. "If any indications of it are found in any institution," he said grimly, "the police crack down on it promptly." This judgment was corroborated in large part by a staff member of the American Embassy, although he felt that Dr. al-Yassim, perhaps,

was somewhat too optimistic regarding actual conditions in the schools.

In Iraq, though—the first distinctly Arab nation visited—for the first time we encountered the strong anti-American sentiment growing out of the Palestine situation. The United States Information Service finds it difficult or impossible to explain the seeming American partiality to Israel to the satisfaction of Iraqi students and professors who are strongly pro-Arab, as is to be expected.

An editorial in *Al Ittihad al Dasturi*, a leading Baghdad newspaper (May 11, 1952) entitled, in translation, "The U.N. Project for the Settlement of Refugees and Its Menace to the Arab Rights in Palestine," refers to the decision of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) to allocate \$250,000,000 for distribution to the Arab nations for execution of the plan for resettlement of Palestinian Arab refugees in the Arab countries. It describes this allocation as a defiance of the U.N. resolutions passed in 1948 and says it is designed "to draw a thick curtain on the refugee problem in order to minimize the responsibility of the hostile Zionists. The Arabs should make themselves ready to face these methods aimed at the loss of the Arab's legitimate rights in the Palestine issue."

While much of the hostility in Iraq and other Arab countries is aimed against the United Nations as the responsible body, it is more and more centralized on America as the nation most largely responsible, in their judgment, for the actions taken by the U.N.

Press reports in November 1952 told of armed demonstrators, including students and Communist-led "peace partisans," who on the night of November 23 rampaged through the streets of Baghdad in an orgy of pre-election and antiforeign rioting against "Anglo-American plots" until the army had to be called out to restore order. Eleven were killed, scores injured, and thousands of dollars of property damage incurred. The building occupied by the United States Information Service was set afire and many books burned. Demonstrators tried but failed to reach the headquarters of the Point Four agency. The government immediately closed all public schools and banned all student meetings until further notice.

Lebanon, Syria, Jordan

In many ways these small contiguous countries, with a total population of between six and seven millions, should be considered as one. They are all Arab states bordering on Palestine, their economic interests are similar, and Beirut, the capital of Lebanon, is the chief seaport for the area and is undoubtedly the intellectual center with the American University of Beirut and its associated schools and with the French Jesuit Saint Joseph University.

In all three countries, too, communism is officially outlawed as a party. But the Beirut newspaper *Le Soir* (March 18, 1952) observed: "Since there is officially no longer a Communist party in Lebanon, Communists here are now in all the parties and are displaying considerable activity. Communists are numerous enough and have numerous friends."

Foreign schools have been prohibited in Syria. Damascus, the oldest inhabited city in the world, the present capital of Syria, is credited with being the center of Communist underground activities for the Middle East. Much excitement was caused in March 1952, when a bomb was exploded in the offices of the United States Information Service at Damascus, causing the death of a night wireless operator and much damage to the premises. Beirut papers reported that investigations proved that those responsible for the bombing were Communists.

It is true that in November 1947 the Soviet Union also voted in the United Nations in favor of partition for Palestine, and as an immediate result the wooing of the Arab world by the Soviets received a serious setback. The Arab governments at once outlawed the Communist party and six Communists were burned to death in Damascus. That, however, was six years ago, and since that time the Soviet Union has repudiated its earlier vote and has renewed its effort to woo the Arab nations. Hostility growing out of the troublesome Palestine situation, therefore, has been transferred to the British and Americans, more particularly the latter.

In March 1952 Jordanian students in Europe issued a statement attacking the "domination of their country by Anglo-imperialism." Arab Jerusalem (under control of Jordan) is one of the fertile fields for communism in the Middle East.

But it is in Beirut—capital of tiny Lebanon, the seat of the outstanding American University of Beirut, and the country where the Point Four program of American aid for Middle Eastern countries has been initiated—that the chief Communist and anti-American sentiment is found. The educational director of the Point Four program showed the writer his recommendations for expenditures of \$325,000 in 1952 for the improvement of educational opportunities in Lebanon. The Beirut YWCA has a well-organized program of education and social welfare for the women of Lebanon. It was, therefore, the first organization to be given (in May 1952) a substantial grant for an extension of its vocational and social service training. Most Beirut papers carried a story with a picture of the Point Four director handing a check for \$25,600 to the Lebanese president of the YWCA.

The left-wing and pro-Communist press of the city attacked the grant vigorously. Thus, the pro-Communist *Al Hadaif* commented caustically: "People have started thinking that the doors of heaven have opened up to let loose a flood of manna, that the age of pocketing dollars from Point Four has come. We understand that this grant was arranged between the Point Four office in Washington and the YWCA. The Lebanese government knew nothing about it and the Point Four office here was only a 'link.' The Lebanese YWCA is, in fact, a branch of a foreign society." This statement, in characteristic Communist fashion, shows little regard for the truth. The educational director of Point Four in Beirut explained in detail the factors which led him to recommend a grant to the YWCA and the way that this and all other grants are subject to the specific approval of the Lebanese Ministry of Education. But the Communist press, here as elsewhere, is not overly troubled by facts.

Another hostile left-wing journal, *Al Istiklal* (May 14, 1952), characterized the Point Four educational program as "tricks and acrobatics. Its beginning is not known and its end cannot be described. It is a well-known series directed by a thread of spider's web through a hidden hand wearing silk gloves."

The left-wing *Sabah el Khair* (March 27), under the head "Communists Serve the Rulers of Lebanon," reports asking the Minister of Agriculture, Suleiman el-Ali, his opinion of the various

American assistance programs. El-Ali said that by this assistance Americans wanted to stop the spread of communism in Lebanon and the East. "So I advise government officials to encourage the Communists," he said, with tongue in cheek, "for when the number of Communists increases, so will American assistance increase!"

The left-wing *Telegraph* of Beirut reported (March 19) that a delegation of students from the French Medical Institute had visited its offices to protest against the alleged use of "germ bombs" by American troops in Korea. "These germs," said the students, "threaten all the people of Asia."

Six American-sponsored institutions of higher education are located in the Middle East countries under consideration in this book. They are: the American University of Beirut and the American College for Women in Lebanon; Aleppo College and Damascus College in Syria; Robert College and Istanbul Woman's College in Turkey. All have done outstanding service in training native leaders for the entire area in democratic concepts of education. Of these, by all odds the largest and most influential has been the American University of Beirut, founded in 1866. It has a teaching and administrative staff of over five hundred individuals representing twenty different nationalities and a dozen religions. Its student body of 2,700 represents forty different countries and seventeen religions. Among the students of such a cosmopolitan institution it is not surprising that clashes of interest and belief may occur, particularly in view of the present emotionally charged conditions in the Middle East. The wonder is that more clashes have not occurred in this influential Middle East educational melting pot. Yet Jews and Arabs work together and study together for the most part in harmony. Nor is it surprising that a disturbing sprinkling of Communists has been found as well.

The task of keeping all of these potentially divergent elements in order and developing a spirit of tolerance and understanding falls upon the youthful president, Dr. Stephen B. L. Penrose. He has been president only since 1948 but was for several years earlier a member of the faculty. During World War II he was on the staff of the Office of Strategic Services, working in the Middle East where he had exceptional opportunities to learn of all types

of subversive activities and the many crosscurrents of this complicated region. President Penrose (whose father of the same name was for more than forty years president of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington) discussed the Communist situation both in his own university and in the Middle East as a whole. Because of his long and intimate knowledge of conditions in the area, his views warrant somewhat extended report. He said:

The state of political unrest which has become marked in recent years throughout the Middle East has been reflected in the reactions of our student body drawn from so many countries and faiths. Students throughout the Arab countries are more deeply involved in and susceptible to political influence than is the case in the United States. They represent an elite class, exerting far more influence in their communities than do American college and university students. For this reason political parties attempt to secure the co-operation and assistance of student groups.

The American University of Beirut has been less subject than many of the national institutions to political activity on the part of students. The university makes it clear to all students before they come on the campus that political activity on their part cannot be tolerated during their college career. So many nationalities are represented in the student body and so many shades of political opinion are found that free indulgence in political activity might readily lead to constant disturbance of the academic life. The university's regulations are intended to preserve the function of the university as a teaching institution and are in no sense aimed to prevent freedom of political thought on the part of students.

Prior to the opening of the university last year, the administration learned that the Communist party intended to stir up difficulties within the student body. Consequently when, at the very beginning of classes, efforts were made on the part of certain students to distribute literature obviously inspired by Communist propaganda, speedy and severe action on the part of the administration resulted. Before the students were convinced that the administration meant business, twelve students were asked to leave. The incipient Communist cell within the university was disrupted and for a considerable period thereafter no further trouble occurred.

You may be interested to note the tenor of the propaganda which was being distributed. Here is a translation of part of one leaflet: "The imperialist powers are forging new chains for the Arab people, seeking to enslave them and force them to fight on their behalf against the peace-loving nations of the world, at the head of which is the Soviet Union."

This year we have had three demonstrations by students with a mixture of Communist and nationalistic leadership—it is difficult to separate the two sharply here. The first demonstration occurred in October in connection with developments at Suez. A student mass meeting was held on the athletic field. For this at least fifty Communists from the city, not students, climbed the fence to stir up feeling among the students. In the demonstration following the meeting, seventy students were jailed by the police but were later released. The university promptly suspended the five ringleaders. The students then went on strike against our action and no classes met for a day. Then a compromise was effected, and the suspended students were restored upon signing a statement that they had not intended to violate Lebanese government regulations.

Later in the year there was a general demonstration of Lebanese students from all of the educational institutions in the city. Our students asked for a holiday in order to join it. I agreed to their request for a holiday—provided there should be an additional day of school before commencement to compensate for the time lost. This rather took the wind out of their sails. They had their holiday and their demonstration but they had to pay for it!

The third demonstration occurred in January at the same time as the more riotous Egyptian student demonstrations. The Lebanese Prime Minister forbade this demonstration, but many of our students under Communist leadership went ahead with it anyway. Thus it became a national, not a university, matter. Fifty students were arrested by the police and several were suspended by the university.

As a result of these various actions and suspensions the actual number of active Communist students now in the university is small. There have been a few, but they have been told they will not be admitted if they try to return to school next year. Most of them are men, but there are a few women also.

President Penrose feels that the university situation is only a reflection of the explosive nationalist situation in the Middle East, and especially of the action of the great powers with reference to Palestine.¹ He continued:

These student political activities are an indication of the general political tension which pervades the Arab world as a result of disappointment with and antipathy toward the Western powers who are charged with the responsibility for the partition of Palestine and the resultant influx into the neighboring states of Lebanon and Jordan

¹ See his informing article, "The Arabs Don't Love Us Any More," *Reader's Digest*, June 1952, pp. 115-19.

of hundreds of thousands of destitute Arab refugees from Palestine.

With the aid of funds from UNESCO, the Arab League, the governments of some of the Arab countries, and others who contributed last year over \$20,000 for the purpose, the university was able to give full or partial scholarship aid to 138 of these Palestinian refugees who were qualified to enter the university, and 46 of them have been able to finish their courses and get their university degrees.

Student groups, particularly imbued with ardent hopes for the progress of their nations and frustrated by their apparent lack of progress, are tempted to blame indiscriminately the great powers which have for so long exerted a major influence upon the affairs of Arab states. In their feeling of frustration, they are casting about for support which they hope may help to bring about the necessary social and political changes. Following the old Arab proverb, "The enemy of our enemy is our friend," many are willing to accept the Communist propaganda line. The situation is potentially an explosive one, of which the Western world must form a proper appreciation and toward which it must develop an adequate policy if it is not to find itself faced with the difficult if not hopeless task of recovering prestige in an area from which its influence has vanished. It is significant and disturbing that the Western democracies are more generally described as the "imperialist powers" throughout the Middle East than they are as the exponents of the democratic way of life.

There are more than 900,000 Arab refugees from Palestine who have been in refugee camps in the neighboring countries for more than four years.² They form a most fruitful field for Communist propaganda and the Communists have taken full advantage of the opportunity. The Soviet Embassy here in Lebanon maintains a large staff. It carries on a very active and effective propaganda service, paying special attention to students as future important leaders in their countries. This is true not only of our own university but of the several other universities and schools located in this educational center of Beirut.

The United States is blamed very largely for the situation in Israel and for the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees. It is, of course, true that the Soviet Union also voted for partition six years ago, but it has since repudiated this action and endeavored to forget it—and, more important, has apparently successfully endeavored to make the Arab countries forget it. Now it is actively inciting the Arabs against the

² Of these at least 84,000 are reported in Syria, whose total population is 3,568,000; 106,000 are in Lebanon, whose population is 1,285,000; and no less than 472,000 are in Jordan, with a total population of only 1,719,000. The others are in Egypt and in countries not under consideration in this volume. In November 1953 King Hussein was reported to have told Andrew G. Lynch, United States chargé d'affaires, that communism was spreading among the hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees now living on United Nations relief in Jordan.

"American imperialists." I feel that the United States has made many mistakes in policy. I was told by a cabinet minister of one of the Arab countries that the Arabs had become convinced "that the policy of the United States was hostile to the Arab countries."

Now the United States appears to be trying to balance accounts by making appropriations to aid the Arab states equal in amount to those made to Israel. But this is not at all sufficient in the eyes of the seven Arab states. They feel that any such appropriations should be seven times as great for them as for the single nation of Israel. There is a well-known Arab story concerning the components of a meat stew which is pertinent. An Arab cook was instructed to prepare a stew composed of equal parts of rabbit and horse meat. Therefore he made the stew, conscientiously using one horse and one rabbit as ingredients. Now one observes a small nation of 1,200,000 people being placed on a footing of equality by America with seven states whose total population approximates 40,000,000 people. The rabbit and the horse!

The Beirut left-wing press was not slow to attack American University for its action with reference to Communist students, reported by President Penrose, especially for the expulsion of four students for their part in the disturbances of January 26 and 28, 1952. Thus *Al Hadaf* said that "A.U.B. [American University of Beirut] has been changed from an educational institution to a political center." *Al Youm* claimed that A.U.B. had suspended activities of the student council for its part in organizing student strikes and demonstrations. Even distant Baghdad added its voice; *Al Hadaf* also reported: "We have received the following cable from ninety-five students of the Law College of Baghdad: 'The cultural and national circles in Iraq protest against the oppressive policy of the board of the A.U.B. directed against Arab students. We ask that the question of the discharged students be reconsidered.'"

Charles Malik, formerly head of the department of philosophy in the American University of Beirut and professor of philosophy at Harvard University, is now Ambassador of Lebanon to the United States and representative of the Republic in the United Nations. He is unusually qualified to interpret the conditions in the Arab world. His thoughtful article in *Life* was, of course, read with unusual interest in his native country. The issue containing it was bought up from the newsstands at once. His full and scholarly

analysis of the Communist situation, written from a friendly but frank standpoint, is worthy of careful attention. Brief quotations here will be sufficient to indicate his interpretation of the situation in the Middle East:

For the moment the important fact is that the Communist movement is identifying itself with the resurgent nationalism of Asia. This is a crucial part of high Communist strategy—the detachment of the so-called dependent peoples from their imperial masters—both to weaken these masters and to convert the rebels into “people’s democracies.”

It is a common remark of many a nationalist in Asia that if it were a matter of choosing for his country between a native Communist regime and foreign rule (by which he means Western European rule) he would unhesitatingly choose the former. To such a nationalist, the decisive thing is not the theoretical character of the regime but the practical matter of *who rules*. That Moscow would effectively rule any “native” Communist state is a fact that seems to him to be so remote as to be irrelevant.

Communism has one other great source of strength—the gratuitous mistakes of Western policy. The Arab world may be taken as an example. The Arabs were very friendly to the West, but the West seems to have done everything that was done with the object of dissipating that friendship. Western policy in Palestine or in Egypt could not have been better calculated to arouse antagonism. Practically every Arab, faced with a choice between Zionist domination with Western connivance and outright Soviet annexation, would choose the latter.³

Turkey

Turkey is the last of the Middle East countries visited by the writer. Unlike those just discussed, it is not Arab but it is 98 per cent Muslim and is as strongly opposed to communism as the Arab countries, if not more so. For decades it has feared and hated the Russian menace on its borders. Any potential Communist development is promptly suppressed by the efficient police.

Remarkable progress has been made in modernizing this country since the Republic was formed under the national leader and hero Kemal Atatürk in 1923. Until 1950, however, or at least until 1946, it was a republic in name only. For a quarter of a century it was in reality a single party presidential dictatorship. It was

³ “From a Friend of the West,” by Charles Malik, *Life*, March 31, 1952, copyright Time Inc.

only in 1946 that legislation was enacted authorizing new political parties, but forbidding ones that represent specifically "religious, secret, separatist, or subversive" groups, thus officially banning the possibility of a Communist party as such. Under this law, however, an effective opposition party was formed which demanded more freedom for private enterprise and other reforms. This new Democratic party won an overwhelming majority in the 1950 elections, permitting more freedom in university life and organization as well as in many other lines.

Little evidence of communism was reported to the writer among the students of the recently organized University of Ankara (1946), in the national capital. Somewhat more evidence was found of its existence as an underground movement in the older and larger University of Istanbul. But the secret police prevent any open advocacy of communism here.

In the last years of the 1940's, according to Eleanor Bisbee, a former teacher in Robert College, Istanbul, with the freer political atmosphere resulting from the 1946 party law,

Communist movements came into the open far enough for articles in certain daily papers, sales of Communist propaganda literature in one or two bookstores, suspicion of Communist teaching by a few members of the faculty in the University of Ankara, and radical periodicals appearing under new names for almost every issue. Demonstrations, mostly by university students, against such publications, bookstores, and suspected faculty members, were close enough to riots to bring out the police. These propaganda channels were closed fairly tightly, and every supposedly Communist party organization was suppressed, the leaders being arrested and sentenced to one to five years imprisonment.⁴

Turkey, by choice of ideologies and by traditional fear of Russia, has definitely cast in her lot with the Western democracies. A well-informed member of the staff of the American Embassy in Ankara told the writer that in his judgment there was less communism among students in Turkey today than among students in the United States.

⁴ Eleanor Bisbee, *The New Turks* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), p. 231.

7. Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

COMMUNISM loves to fish in troubled waters," said President Skerie of Assuit College, Egypt, to the writer, "and, unfortunately, there are far too many troubled waters in Africa today."

"Egypt is an open field for Communist activity," said Kermit Roosevelt, of the United States Department of State, after a recent visit to Cairo. "Communism has in fact infiltrated Egypt more than it had done three years ago."

"We have no conclusive proof of Communist direction of the present Mau Mau disturbances in Kenya," said a member of the staff of the American consulate in Nairobi, "but doubtless the men in the Kremlin are smiling with satisfaction at the troubles here and elsewhere in Africa and are ready to take a more positive part in them, if and when they think it desirable."

"The Kremlin is interested in the whole world, but his present strategy is largely keyed to success in Asia and, I would say, in Africa," wrote the British ex-Communist Douglas Hyde, already quoted in chapter 1. "For Africa is the strategic bridgehead to and from the Eurasian heartland and anyone thinking in terms of winning the world today must secure his position in Africa. Moreover, though African nationalism is waking to life later than in Asia, all the same ingredients—and possibilities of Communism—are there."¹

"In truth, the problems of Africa are the problems of the world,"

¹ Douglas Hyde, "Stirring Up Trouble, IV" *Overseas*, May 1953, p. 44.

wrote Winston Churchill in 1906, who as a young newspaper correspondent visited Kenya and Uganda almost a half-century ago.

"Troubled waters," "open field," "Kremlin smiling with satisfaction," "strategic bridgehead," "problems of the world,"—these phrases compactly summarize the situation in troubled Africa in 1953. Another writer refers to Africa as the "strategic prize of the century." From Cairo to Capetown, from Casablanca to Zanzibar, this vast continent with its millions of dark-skinned peoples of multiple languages and strange customs, most of them chafing under some type of colonial rule, is seething with unrest, with suspicion, with friction, with nationalism, with racial consciousness, with anti-imperialism, and—along with all these—with increasing eagerness for more education and schools better adapted to their special needs.

In most of the African countries which we visited, Islamic influence is predominating. In ten of them, with a total population of over fifty million people, Muslims constitute more than 80 percent of the population, in eight of them more than 90 percent.²

The writer and his wife traveled almost 15,000 miles through sixteen countries in North and East Africa in the five months from December 1952 to May 1953. Unfortunately we had to leave untouched great areas of West Africa, Central Africa, and South Africa. We cherish no illusions that in such a comparatively brief visit we could understand completely the intricate backgrounds and complex problems of so many and such different countries and cultures. We concentrated on the question of the influence, direct and indirect, of Communist theory and practice in the educational systems of the countries visited. Results of our experiences and observations of the troubled waters and of the approving smiles of the Kremlin, particularly as they apply to educational conditions in these sixteen countries, are presented in this and the two following chapters.

Egypt

When we arrived in Egypt the first of December 1952, there was still much talk and many evidences of the January 26 riots ten

² In order: Somalia, Zanzibar, French Somaliland, French Morocco, Libya, Spanish Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

months earlier in Cairo when seven hundred stores and offices in the heart of the business district were destroyed or gutted by fire, including the world-famous Shepheard's Hotel and all the principal cinemas showing Western films. The latter have been rebuilt in a style that would do credit to New York or Hollywood, but the site of Shepheard's was still a blackened ruin when we arrived.

Inquiry revealed the fact that many local university students had participated in these riots and that Communist leadership and assistance played an important, although probably not dominant, part in them. While the riots were set off primarily by reaction in Cairo to the friction in the Suez Canal Zone which culminated in the shooting of eight Egyptians and the wounding of seventy-four others at Ismalia, headquarters of the British Canal Zone administration, Communist leadership was not slow to take advantage of these troubled waters. The Cairo riots bore a striking resemblance to similar riots and plots executed by Communists in other countries. So-called "Freedom Battalions" were recruited among the students of most of the universities, and normal educational work came to a standstill for several weeks, all government schools, colleges, and universities being closed by Cabinet order.

Four governments followed each other in rapid succession in the six months following the Cairo riots. The culmination was the *coup d'état*, on July 23, of General Mohammed Naguib and the group of young army officers which resulted in the quick forced abdication of King Farouk and his exile to Italy and the dissolution of the corrupt palace clique.

This *coup d'état* appears to have done more to clear the atmosphere in Egypt, to inaugurate a program of real social, economic, and agricultural reform; and to bring about effective and relatively honest political administration, than any other action of recent years. The new régime has received almost universal public approval and support. It has shown such a great improvement over previous long-continued corruption and inefficiency that it has put new life, hope, and optimism into the people of Egypt from *fellahin* (peasant farmers) to university professors, from taxi drivers to capitalists. There seems to be no doubt of the personal honesty, integrity, and good intentions of General Naguib. The only contrary note has come from frequent rumors

of an unnatural alliance between Communists and the rich leaders of the discredited Wafd party in hopes of regaining power for the latter.

Ex-King Farouk, in an interview published in the London *Empire News* after his abdication, accused General Naguib's movement itself of being Communist. It is true that some of the nine young officers associated with General Naguib are known to be left-wing extremists. One of these told a member of the British Parliament visiting in Egypt: "We cannot stop our people from lapping up Russian Communistic propaganda, as long as we remain an occupied territory." But the General himself has shown no sympathy with Communist activities. In January 1953, after we had left Egypt, he suppressed seven pro-Communist publications and caused forty-eight known Communists to be arrested, accused of plotting against the government.

Again in August 1953 fifty-one Communist sympathizers were held for questioning by the Egyptian police who conducted a series of raids in the Cairo area. They included persons of all classes but students and intellectuals were particularly well represented. In almost all cases those arrested were suspected of helping to prepare or distribute Communist pamphlets.

Early in 1952 the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior prepared a report on Communist organizations in Egypt. It named at least six such organizations known to exist, most of them with substantial student membership, including the Democratic Movement for National Liberation, Popular Democracy, the Egyptian Communist party, the Vanguard of the Egyptian Communist party, the Core of the Egyptian Communist party, and Red Star. It reported bitter differences between these rival Communist groups. All of them, however, have been banned by General Naguib in his general order prohibiting all political parties. How effectually they continue to exist and to function underground is anyone's guess.

Before this ban, *Akhbar al Yom* of Cairo (August 6) said: "It has been found that the Egyptian Communist movement has been receiving instructions from Moscow by way of Tehran and Beirut. Documents prove that the Egyptian Communists have come under the authority of the Tudeh party in Iran. Instructions have been sent through employees of one of the Egyptian airlines."

Other documents discovered at Gaza proved that Communists in the Arab states were in close contact with Jewish Communists in Israel. Communist influence was chiefly felt through infiltration into other political parties and religious groups in which it was insidiously spreading its propaganda. Various student groups in the universities were said thus to be subject to Communist direction. University students in Egypt are far more politically conscious than in the United States.

"Many students from local universities and other schools were involved in the January 1952 riots," the political officer of the United States Embassy at Cairo said to the writer, "although they probably were not involved in the actual planning of the burning of the business buildings. The situation was admittedly a confused one with a mixture of nationalism, anti-Britishism, and so forth. The Communists were quick to identify themselves with such a situation. The general attitude now is very favorable. But the climate of Egyptian public opinion is very volatile and could change over night. Without doubt there are Communist influences at work among university students here, but it is difficult for us to get specific evidence concerning them."

General Naguib recognized the important place of students in the whole situation, and took the time to visit each of the principal universities and to address the students, urging upon them the importance of unity, good order, and hard work. He has stressed student responsibility and student opportunity in the solution of the many problems facing Egypt.

When General Naguib spoke to the students at Fouad I University he was heckled by Communist students until he was forced to pause in his address and say that these students "obviously represented a foreign power" and to ask that their interruptions be silenced before he would attempt to continue his address. This was done through the influence of other students in the audience.

Two members of the Egyptian Ministry of Education with whom we had interviews were inclined to minimize the Communist influence in Egyptian education, even though evidence of such influence was amply indicated by other sources. "There is no problem of communism in Egyptian schools," said Shafik Ghorbal, Under Secretary of Education, "although there probably

are some Communist students. But the Communist party is formally outlawed in Egypt as is all political activity on the part of students. Of course many students were involved in the January riots, but I have no knowledge myself of Communist leadership among them."

"University students here have only a dilettante interest in communism," said Mahmond Nahas, chief of the Division of Western Culture of the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Ministry. "Communism is in fundamental conflict with Islam in the Muslim countries, since it says there is no God, no religion, no Prophet. I feel that the greatest counter-influence to communism in Egypt and other Muslim countries is the Muslim Brotherhood. It has developed strongly since the war, first as a moral agency but later unfortunately with increasing political emphasis and direct action, culminating in the assassination of the Prime Minister. But it is better now and is strongly supporting the present government. The leadership is here in Cairo, but it has spread to all the Islamic countries. Communism has been legally outlawed in this country. There may be some youthful academic interest in it, but I know of no Communist organization for direct action."

Egypt has three major government universities, of which the oldest and largest is Fouad I University, founded in 1908 by the former King of that name. It has a splendid location and plant at Giza, in the shadow of the Great Pyramids, some seven or eight miles from Cairo. Since the abdication of King Farouk the university which bore his name has been renamed the University of Cairo, to remove the taint of royalty, now out of favor. The university has some 22,000 students, of whom 3,000 are women.

Dr. Ahmed Hussam el-Din is secretary-general of the university. He has recently returned from London where for several years he was in charge of the several hundred Egyptian students who were studying in the United Kingdom. "There are probably about 500 Communist students in the university, including 50 women," said Dr. Hussam, "but in the few months I have been here, they have been quite restrained. There have been no Communist-led strikes or other disturbances. They have distributed some Communist literature. I do not consider them any serious problem at present.

The police department has furnished us the names of ten alleged Communist professors in the university. They are watching them for any undesirable activities. But that is their responsibility, not ours! Our greatest problem is securing jobs for the thousands of graduates we are turning out each year. If there is extensive unemployment among these graduates, it will furnish a fertile field for the development of Communist sentiment and action among them."

A second government institution, Farouk I University, was established at Alexandria in 1942, where the world-famous University of Alexandria had flourished a thousand years earlier (where Ptolemy, Euclid, and other Greek scholars worked). After the deposition of Farouk, the name of the university was officially changed to Alexandria University. We did not have an opportunity to visit this institution nor to talk with any of its administrative officers. In January 1952 the press reported that the executive committee of the student organization had met and decided to support the government, to fight vigorously any attempt to reach an amicable settlement with the British, to urge the signing of a nonaggression pact with the Soviet government, and to advocate the release of all political prisoners.

The third government university, Ibrahim University, has been very recently formed at Cairo by the combination of a number of formerly existing units. The one of these that interested us most was the Institute of Education (organized 1929) which has some 500 students, all with the bachelor's degree, most of them doing advanced work to qualify for professorships of education or psychology or for administrative positions in the educational system of the country. The dean is Columbia University-trained Dr. Abdel Aziz Koussy, and almost half his staff have degrees from American or British universities.

"We have had little trouble with communism among our students," said Dr. Koussy. "Officially communism is outlawed, but that fact has perhaps caused greater student interest in it. Many of our students are interested in 'social reform' which is badly needed in Egypt today, but it is not fair to label them, at least all of them, as Communists. We are very hopeful of improvement of

social conditions under General Naguib's régime. He has gone to each of the higher educational institutions and spoken to the students, urging close attention to study and abstinence from political activity on their part. As a result, student morale has improved greatly. Some investigators for the Home Ministry (police division) came to me recently saying that two of our students were thought to be Communists. They wanted to search them here for evidence. 'I think you are going at this the wrong way,' I said. 'You are more likely to spread communism by such a search than to suppress it, all our students will resent it so.' Finally I persuaded them to leave. I did not encourage them even to name the two students suspected and I do not know their identity today."

The unique and most interesting higher educational institution in Egypt is al-Azhar University, famed as the world's oldest existing university, founded in A.D. 970. It is the world's principal seat of Islamic learning, attracting thousands of students from all parts of the Muslim world, at least thirty countries being represented in its enrollment today. It claims to furnish a complete education from childhood to maturity. Total enrollment is approximately 20,000 students, divided into the "modern school" operated on more or less standard university lines, with lectures and laboratories, and the "traditional school" which, following the pattern of hundreds of years past, has neither tests for admission, separate classrooms, textbooks, examinations, or degrees. We saw hundreds of students of this "traditional school," clustered in small groups, sitting cross-legged on the richly carpeted floor of the immense mosque around the professor or *shaykh* of their choice. More than half of the foreign students are enrolled in the traditional school, many of them trying first to secure the working knowledge of Arabic necessary before they can carry on their further study of Islamic religion and philosophy, the basis of the curriculum.

As the center and heart of Islamic study and culture, al-Azhar University might be expected to be strongly anti-Communist, and so it is, at least officially, but even here the existence of a Communist cell with numerous students and at least two professors as members has been reported. It is only fair to state, however, that the distinguished vice-rector of the university, Shaykh Abdul Latif

Diraz, with whom we had a fascinating interview through an interpreter, said that he had no knowledge of the existence of such a cell. A few days earlier, *Al Malayeen* (November 29, 1952), a Communist newspaper in Cairo, had published a vigorous attack on the rector of al-Azhar for an interview he had given the press in which he had expressed the official opposition of Islam to Communist theory and practice.

American University at Cairo, founded in 1919, has been doing significant work under American sponsorship for many years with its somewhat limited staff and resources. It has a strategic location in the heart of Cairo. "There are many social tensions in Egypt," said the president, Dr. John Badeau, "although they seem to be distinctly lessened today as a result of the *coup d'état* of July 23. If a suitable settlement can be made with our British friends by the Egyptians, the danger may recede. If not, and Egypt has to fight Britain, the Egyptians may turn for help to Russia in accordance with the well-known Arab proverb, 'The enemy of my enemy is my friend.' I know of no open advocacy of communism in our university although there may well be some Communist students. In the anti-British riots of January 26, 1952, most educational institutions recruited Freedom Battalions of students, but there was none from American University although some of our students participated as individuals. We lost only eight and a half days of school on account of these riots, whereas Fouad University lost virtually a half-year. I insist here on teaching *about* communism in various appropriate university courses—in economics, in government, and in social and ethical problems."

Within three weeks of the date of this interview with President Badeau a student leader of the junior class of American University reported to American Point Four officials the results of a student body election in which he said the Communist-sponsored ticket was defeated, but only after a hotly contested campaign.

Assuit College is operated by the United Presbyterian Mission of the United States at Assuit in Upper Egypt. We spent a day at this institution and noted the significant work it is doing, particularly in the agricultural field. The remark of its president regarding "troubled waters" has already been quoted in the opening sen-

tence of this chapter. President Skerie took from his desk a half-dozen copies of a most attractively printed and illustrated magazine (in color), *Students of the World*. "These came to the college recently," he said, "addressed to the 'Captain of the Football Team.' We have no football team, so I opened them. They are sheer and unadulterated Communist propaganda. They are published in Prague, Czechoslovakia, by the International Federation of Students, the well-known Communist international students organization which has its headquarters in Prague. This announcement printed on them indicates that there are editions in English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish, and Arabic. This is the Arabic edition. Evidently they have a wide circulation among students in many countries. They came here under Egyptian stamps, and probably were mailed in Cairo or Alexandria. I have no doubt similar literature has been sent to football captains and other student leaders in educational institutions in Egypt and perhaps in other parts of Africa."

Several weekly Communist papers were published in Cairo while we were there and had been for several months previously, including *Al Katib*, *Al Wagid*, *Al Malayeen*, and *Al Muarada*. As reported above, they were all banned by the government after we left Egypt, but some of their contents may be of significance to report, particularly since they were commonly read by university and secondary school students.

The first issue of *Al Muarada*, appearing January 9, 1952, was largely anti-American. Its principal article was entitled: "The New Devil: United States Imperialism Which Seeks To Take Over Egypt from the British." It was filled with violent attacks on Americans and on Egyptians working in America. It published what it called a sensational article on how American imperialism was spreading in Egypt. It attacked particularly American schools and cultural institutions.

Al Wagid for October 23, 1951, devoted its entire four-page tabloid issue to attacks on the United States and imperialism. It included a special attack on the United States Information Service in Egypt.

Al Katib for the week of December 6 said the United States

policy was leading the world to destruction and quoted what it called "U.S. secret reports" to prove its charges.

Another journal, *Al Musawar*, in its December 19 issue had a long leading article: "Arabs and Muslims Lose Hope in Western Democracies." Sample quotation:

The Palestinian tragedy is the worst and most disgraceful example of the policy of the Western democracies toward the Arab and Islam states. During the Palestinian War, England, who was terribly kicked out of the Holy Land, stabbed the Arabs in the back and defied them in every crisis. America too supplied and still supplies Israel with arms, money, and equipment and furnishes the Jewish state with support whenever needed. . . . After all these successive disappointments, there is no hope in Western democracies but bitter feeling and wounded hearts. Despair can be transformed into a vigorous power. It involves imminent danger. It may persuade us to inflame the fuse of the Third World War from here, or to smash ourselves and our enemies as Samson did. . . . This is a voice of warning which the Big Western Powers must take into consideration.

A new low was reached, however, in the vicious attack in an article in *Al Katib* for the week of December 13. Under the heading "Eastern Girl Students To Entertain the Americans," it published the English text of an innocent letter distributed to girls of the American University at Beirut and the American College for Women in the same city, asking them to act as hostesses for the seventeen hundred United States sailors who were arriving in Beirut with the United States Fleet. Then for the benefit of its readers, most of whom do not read English easily and accurately if at all, the paper translated the letter into Arabic with a subtle choice of words and their implications in a way to suit its own purposes and said that it shows that the imperialists want the Arab girls to become slaves and prostitutes of American naval personnel. The paper then took the occasion to attack Point Four, America, the Moral Rearmament Group, the Egyptian Minister of Education for allowing free distribution of the "American espionage magazine" to all schools, the Minister of the Interior for allowing the magazine to be distributed at all in Egypt, and all friends of America in general—and closed by calling upon the rector of al-Azhar University to state publicly what religion has to say about such a letter.

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

Immediately south of Egypt lies the immense area of the little-known Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It stretches southward 1,200 miles along the River Nile, and extends from east to west 1,000 miles—an area equal to approximately one-third that of the United States. This vast country varies from burning desert (126° Fahrenheit at Wadi Halfa in April) through central grasslands to tropical swamps and jungles in the south. It supports a population of some eight million people, largely concentrated along the Blue and White Niles, which run for more than two thousand miles through the country. Two-thirds of these people, in the northern part, are of Arab stock and Muslim faith; one-third, in the southern part, are of Negroid stock and pagan traditions and speak many different African languages. Some of these southern tribes are as primitive as any to be found in Africa today. One of the great problems of the country is to achieve real unity—politically, economically, socially, and educationally among scattered peoples who differ so widely, not only physically but also culturally.

We had the opportunity to visit this vast country only in a few key spots—at Wadi Halfa on the Egyptian-Sudanese border where we changed from the delightful Nile River steamer to the Sudan government-operated railway running across 600 miles of desert to Khartoum, the capital, and the two nearby cities of Khartoum North and Omdurman. These “three towns,” as they are designated locally, are strategically located at the junction of the Blue and White Niles and have a combined population of 248,000.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan condominium, established in 1899 (far more Anglo than Egyptian in practice although the flags of the two countries fly over government buildings in Khartoum) is also seething with political and religious unrest and with the desire for freedom from British rule. A variety of parties exist, some desiring a king, some a democracy, some complete independence, some a loose alliance with Egypt, some a place in the British Commonwealth. More “troubled waters” in which the Communists have not been slow to cast their piscatorial nets.

“Communist propaganda has affected some of the Sudanese, particularly artisans and students,” says the government public re-

lations officer in an informative little booklet, *1,001 Facts about the Sudan*, published in 1952. In January 1953 Bashiker Eddeb, assistant commissioner of police for the Sudan, made a special trip to Cairo to discuss with the Egyptian police the most effective methods of combating the flow of Communists into the Sudan from Egypt. The recently signed agreement (February 12, 1952) of Egypt and Britain to give the people of the Sudan the opportunity after three years to settle their own future status by popular vote probably presages a period of increased political and religious activity and turmoil and more "troubled waters" as the day of decision approaches.

The country has 1,475 schools (1,100 of them in the northern section) with an enrollment of only 118,000 boys and 19,000 girls, or about 12 percent of the children of school age. At the apex of the educational system stands Gordon Memorial College (opened in 1902 by Lord Kitchener) which in 1951 was combined with the Kitchener School of Medicine (1924) to constitute the University College of Khartoum. It has a splendid site on the Nile and an extensive building program in progress more than ample to care for the needs of its present student body of 500. Two million pounds sterling have recently been added to its endowment funds. The staff are practically all from England. The first Sudanese woman graduate received her B.A. degree in 1953.

A month before our arrival in Khartoum, students of Gordon College went on strike and staged a demonstration against the agreements reached in Cairo between the Egyptian and British governments. As a result the college was closed. Other schools joined in the demonstrations. Wadi Seidna Secondary School, 20 miles away, was also closed indefinitely. Seventeen persons, seven of them students of the college and others students or laborers of other schools, were brought into court. Three were acquitted, four were sentenced to fifteen lashes each, and the other ten were jailed for terms of three to thirty days each. It was stated that the student unrest was stirred up by Communist influence, which had been increasing for several months. Communist leaflets were distributed by the students, and hostile slogans were chalked on the walls of the "three towns" and shouted on the streets by student groups.

A. B. Theobald, dean of Gordon College, in a long conference with the writer discussed the situation fully and freely. He said there had been much and increasing Communist activity among the college students and that several times it had become necessary to close school "until the students cooled down" and to expel some of the ringleaders. The last time was two weeks before the normal closing of the term prior to Christmas, the major problem at that time being the control of "political" activities. The student decision to strike was carried by a vote of 179 to 160 after a stormy three-hour session before the close of which a considerable number of the non-Communists had withdrawn in weariness before the final vote was taken. Boys from secondary schools in the city came to the college and added their part to the disturbances. In fact, Mr. Theobald felt the general Communist situation was worse among the students of the secondary schools than in the college.

W.B. Jamison, Deputy Director of Education for the Sudan, also said that there was considerable Communist influence in the secondary schools and that the situation had been getting worse in recent months. He had evidence that they were in regular contact with the International Federation of Students, the well-known Communist student organization with headquarters in Prague, already mentioned in connection with Assuit College, Egypt. A number of Communist teachers had been dismissed, he said, but it was difficult to do this if they had taught long enough to secure tenure rights (after two years of service)—"unless they can be convicted of criminal activities, and mere belief in communism, at least as yet, is no crime in the Sudan." Mr. Jamison said that the situation was giving the educational authorities increasing concern.

Mohammed Khalil Gubara, a graduate of Gordon College, is headmaster of an intermediate school at Omdurman as well as teacher of Arabic for the American consulate. He told the writer that two years ago there had been at least ten Communist teachers in the schools, but that all of them had been discharged. When asked what had become of them, he said that several of them had become journalists and joined in the publication of a semiweekly Communist paper which had recently been suppressed by the government. (Later, Mr. Evans, public relations officer, verified

that this paper, *Sahara*, had been suspended for six months under the powers of the Governor-General on the ground that it was constantly stirring up class hatred, but he had no knowledge as to whether former teachers were on its staff.) Mr. Gubara said that at Gordon College probably at least one-third of the students are Communists. Last year, as a result of the indifference of the non-Communists, a majority of the members of the executive committee of the Student Union were Communists, but this year the non-Communists had stirred themselves and a slight majority of the committee were now non-Communists—a hopeful sign, he felt. He thought considerable Communist literature was coming into the country although he had not seen any in his own school.

8. East Africa

KENYA UGANDA TANGANYIKA ZANZIBAR
ETHIOPIA ERITREA SOMALIA
FRENCH SOMALILAND

THIS CHAPTER will be devoted to eight territories: British East Africa, consisting of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar; Ethiopia and Eritrea, in their mountainous isolation; and Somalia and French Somaliland, bordering on the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea.

The region known as British East Africa has a total population of approximately 19,000,000, of which less than 50,000 are European. Total area is 679, 961 square miles—almost a quarter of that of the United States.

The four territories of British East Africa are separately organized and administered but with many elements in common as a result of agreements made by the East Africa High Commission, organized in 1948. For example, all four have a common currency, postal system, locust control, railway and harbor administration, and other cooperative administrative features. Responsibility for elementary and secondary education rests entirely with the separate territories, but there is a single institution of higher education, Makerere College, now a university college affiliated with the University of London which grants degrees to its students. It hopes ultimately to develop into a University of East Africa. While located in Uganda, it serves the higher educational needs of all four territories for non-European students and is jointly supported by the four territories.

Kenya

Nowhere in all the portions of Africa that we visited and probably on the whole continent are there more "troubled waters" to-day than in unhappy Kenya; nowhere is the situation so calculated to cause more satisfied smiles in the Kremlin; nowhere are conditions giving the responsible authorities of government more concern. And practically every one whom we asked in the colony in January and February, 1953, said the situation was getting worse, not better—a statement further borne out by press reports in the months since we were there.

According to 1948 statistics, Kenya had a population of over five million people, distributed as follows:¹

<i>Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Europeans	29,660	0.55
Indians	90,528	1.68
Arabs	24,174	0.45
Goans (Portuguese India)	7,159	0.13
Other non-Africans	3,325	0.06
Africans	5,251,120	97.13
Total	5,405,966	100.00

Of the Africans there are some eighty tribes in all, each with its own language. Of these, the Masai and the Kikuyu are the most important. The Kikuyu, almost exclusively responsible for the present Mau Mau troubles, are variously estimated at from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 in number—only a minority of the total African population, but a very large, vigorous, active, and troublesome minority. By and large the Europeans (one-half of 1 percent of the total) govern the country, the Indians (1½ percent) do most of its retail business, and the Africans more or less passively accept this situation—or have done so until recently, particularly until September 1952.

In September 1952 it became necessary for the Kenya government to declare a state of emergency as a result of the terrorist activities and outrages of a Kikuyu organization known as Mau Mau. Mau Mau began as a secret organization in late 1948 or early 1949. Following the declaration of the emergency, British troops

¹ A. Gordon Brown, *The Yearbook and Guide to East Africa* (1953 ed.; London: Robert Hale, Ltd., 1953), p. 29. The total is slightly less than shown in Appendix A taken from the 1953 edition of the Rand McNally *Commercial Atlas*.

were flown into the colony, the local police force was strengthened, the police reserve was mobilized, the Kenya Regiment was called into action, and a volunteer force was recruited from British residents—the latter while we were in Kenya.

Mau Mau (no one seems to be sure of the origin or meaning of the term, if any) is openly anti-white as well as anti-Christian. Its aim, as stated by Dr. Leakey (see footnote, p. 145, for more information concerning him) is to drive Europeans and all other foreigners out of the country. To accomplish this aim, it intends to use murder, intimidation, and finally a general concerted uprising.

The first two phases of these methods were in all-too-full and effective operation during the month we were in East Africa. Before we left Kenya in February 1953, the score since the emergency was declared was at least 202 known murders, including 9 Europeans on their farms, 3 Asians, 177 Kikuyus, and 13 other Africans loyal to the government who refused to be intimidated by the lawless threats and activities of the Mau Mau terrorists and who paid for their loyalty to the established government with their lives. Most prominent of them was the honored Chief Waruhiu, sometimes characterized as the "African Churchill," who had taken a strong stand against the developing Mau Mau terrorism. Press reports after we left Kenya, up to the end of April 1953, indicated that this total had been increased to more than one thousand—and the end is not yet.

We traveled into the very heart of the Mau Mau territory—to Fort Hall, Nyeri, Nanyuki, north of Nairobi in the Mount Kenya area; and to Nakuru, Molo, and Kisumu, west of Nairobi. We talked with many people. But it is difficult for an outsider after a relatively brief visit to understand the intricate causes for the Mau Mau difficulties. In Kenya today tempers, understandably, are too taut for calm and judicial judgments.

Basically, however, it appears to be the same problem that is facing much of the rest of the world which we have visited in the past three years from Japan to Morocco—too many people on too little productive land. In Kenya, as in many other countries, there has been in recent years a marked increase in population without a corresponding increase in productive agricultural areas. Before the British came to East Africa seventy-five years ago, the Arab

slave trade, constant intertribal warfare, heavy infant mortality, widespread disease, extensive epidemics, and frequent crop failures with resultant famine, all combined to keep the population down. But under British administration the infamous slave trade was abolished, a stable government set up, epidemics almost eliminated, public health greatly improved, and a supply of grain provided for distribution whenever drought and resultant crop failure threatened starvation. With all of these factors of a cruel but effective Nature removed or markedly lessened in their effectiveness, the native African population has shot upward until today the number of Kikuyus, as well as of many other tribes, is probably twice as great as it was a generation ago when the first farm lands were allotted to British colonists and the boundaries of Native Reserves established. It promises to double again in the next thirty years.

The Native Reserves, many times as large as the portions occupied by British farmers (the "White Highlands"), are now bursting at their seams with the increased African population. It is not entirely strange, therefore, that the Kikuyus, stirred by hot-headed native leaders, look longingly and enviously at the adjacent well-stocked and efficiently managed farms of the Europeans—far more attractive than their own poorly managed holdings. It makes no difference now in their attitude that many of these European farms are on land that never was occupied by the Kikuyu tribe.

The feeling of the Kikuyus may be better understood when one realizes that some of these lands were acquired from their fathers by methods which, as Dr. Leakey shows, were illegal according to age-old Kikuyu customs, although legal according to English law. The Kikuyu custom was that lands could only be leased on a long-time basis, not alienated in perpetuity.

There is widespread discontent today among African young people, partly the result of an education, which if given at all is not best adapted to African conditions—a discontent which has provided productive opportunity for the agitator, whether Communist-inspired or not, and his virulent anti-European propaganda. An important contributory factor is the presence of several thousand young Africans, veterans of World War II, who after

their army experience, some of it on other continents, are restless and have been unable or unwilling to settle down and fit themselves into peacetime occupations.

This, however, is not the time nor is there the space for a general consideration of Mau Mau—this whole chapter on East Africa could easily be devoted to it, or a whole book in fact, as has been done by Dr. Leakey.² We are concerned principally with the Communist aspects of Mau Mau, if any, and in particular with their effects

² For those who want a really adequate understanding of Mau Mau, its alleged leader Jomo Kenyatta, and the basic causes of the present troubles, two little books recently published in London cannot be too strongly recommended. The first of these is *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu* by L. S. B. Leakey (London: Methuen, 1953), 115 pp. The author is recognized as the leading non-African expert on Kikuyu law and customs. He was born of missionary parents in Kenya and has lived among the Kikuyu people most of his life. He speaks their language as fluently as he does English, something very rare even for life-long English residents of East Africa, most of whom learn Swahili, the *lingua franca* for most of the many tribes of East Africa with their wide variety of native languages, but not the native tongue of the Kikuyu. Dr. Leakey is an initiated first-grade elder of the Kikuyu tribe. For the past fifteen years he has lived in Nairobi, where he is curator of the Coryndon Museum. His book, written since the Mau Mau troubles broke out, presents in a sympathetic and understanding way the background of that movement, its aims and methods, and the characteristics and grievances of the Kikuyu tribe, which he shows had a highly developed, if very different, culture of its own before the advent of the white man. He explains clearly the tragic misunderstandings which have resulted when two such divergent cultures meet and clash. And he recommends remedies for the present troubles and discontents.

The second book to be recommended is *Last Chance in Africa*, by Negley Farson (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1949 and 1953), 384 pp. Mr. Farson is an American-born journalist now resident in England who, with his wife, made two trips to East Africa in 1939 and 1947 and traveled all over Kenya. Particularly illuminating is his chap. xi on Jomo Kenyatta, probably the best account available in print of that enigmatical character whom Mr. Farson visited on three different occasions. Mr. Farson, trained as a civil engineer, left the University of Pennsylvania to go into business. He had an export business for three years in Czarist Russia and witnessed the Russian Revolution.

Reference may also be made to an article by Elspeth Huxley, "The Enigma of East Africa," *Yale Review*, Summer 1952, pp. 491–501. Mrs. Huxley has written a number of books on East Africa. She was born in Kenya, had her early education in the schools of Nairobi, followed by advanced study at the University of Reading in England and at Cornell University in America. Some helpful information can also be secured from her book *Sorcerer's Apprentice* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1951), 366 pp. This is based upon a trip she made through the four British East African territories in 1947, and contains a good characterization of Jomo Kenyatta, whom she had met in London.

An excellent account of Mau Mau and the trial of Jomo Kenyatta on the charge of leading and managing Mau Mau is given by the Indian journalist, Santha Rama Rau, in "The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta," *The Reporter*, March 16, 1954, pp. 12–23.

on the educational system of Kenya. This much basic information and explanation, however, seem necessary to any real understanding of the educational situation.

The Kenya African Union, with a claimed membership of 100,000 Africans, has as its stated aim the advancement of the interests of the Africans in Kenya by all lawful means. But it is commonly given credit, also, for the organization by some of its extremist members of the illegal, terroristic Mau Mau, and for tacitly approving their action. The KAU is the successor of the Kikuyu Central Association which, organized in 1922 by ex-soldiers of World War I, was led by a band of young men who Dr. Leakey says were "fired with immense patriotism and armed with a little learning, who made the first slogan of their party, 'We must be given back the lands which the White Man has stolen from us.'"³ But the KCA became more and more directed toward subversive activities and violent demands, voiced through its newspaper, *Miuguithania*, the first paper to be published in the Kikuyu language. Finally the organization was banned by the government during World War II.

After World War II, the Kenya African Union was organized with many of the same members and officers as the old KCA, but profiting by experience with the old banned organization, the constitution of KAU and its stated objectives and methods were all entirely legal and praiseworthy—at least on paper. The exact connection of KAU and Mau Mau was brought out in the trial of Jomo Kenyatta and his associates, described below.

Jomo (the name in Kikuyu means "burning spear") Kenyatta, regarded by the Kenya government as Public Enemy No. 1, was undoubtedly the most powerful African leader in East Africa. He was secretary of the old banned KCA in the late twenties and went to London in 1929 and again in 1931 as its representative to present some of the grievances of his people to the British government. He had been president of the KAU since July 1947 and also had been during most of that same period president of the Kenya Teachers College. This institution (of which more later) had been training teachers for the approximately two hundred African schools which comprised the Kikuyu Independent Schools As-

³ Leakey, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

sociation, recently banned by the government for their subversive activities. Kenyatta and five of his chief associates in the KAU were arrested October 21, 1952 and indicted by the government on November 18, 1952.

Evidently because the government feared intimidation of witnesses, possible riots and other potential disturbances, and interference with the orderly process of justice, the trial was not held in the capital, Nairobi, but at Kapenguria, a village three hundred miles distant in the Rift Valley Province—and incidentally in a room of the African Agricultural School located at that distant outpost of white civilization.

The trial began December 3, 1952, and lasted 58 days. All six of the defendants pleaded not guilty. On April 8, 1953, Magistrate Ransley Thacker, the presiding judge, found Kenyatta and his five associates guilty of Mau Mau connections and sentenced them all to prison terms of seven years each. Thacker, under "death sentence" by the Mau Mau, was hurried to Nairobi with an escort of armored cars and armed guards and flown from neighboring Uganda to London. On July 15, the Kenya Supreme Court nullified the convictions on the ground that Mr. Thacker had no jurisdiction at Kapenguria, which was found to be two miles over the line between Rift Valley and Northern provinces. Mr. Thacker had jurisdiction, it was asserted, only in Northern Province. On August 22, however, this decision of the Kenya Supreme Court was in turn overruled by the Court of Appeals for East Africa which ordered the convictions to stand. Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., chief counsel for the defendants, asked for permission to appeal to the Privy Council in London. The final chapter in this confused situation was written in London, October 20, 1953. On that date the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the final court of appeal on all colonial cases, considered the petition of Jomo Kenyatta and his associates for "special leave to appeal" from the judgment of the Court of Appeals for East Africa. Arguments were presented by Mr. Pritt and by Mr. John Whyatt, Q.C., Attorney General of Kenya. After consultation the committee of five members announced that "their Lordships would humbly advise Her Majesty that leave to appeal should not be granted." ("Jomo Kenyatta's Petition to Appeal Dismissed," *The Times* [London] Oct. 21, 1953,

page 12). The six convicted men are now serving their sentences.

Thus Jomo Kenyatta is a key figure, political as well as educational, in the whole situation. Obviously his connection with communism, if any, and his Communist background and training are important factors to consider and evaluate. The following are acknowledged facts, stated by Kenyatta himself in his sworn testimony at his trial or in interviews with Mr. Farson, or both. From them much can be inferred regarding the character and thinking of this important individual.

1. Kenyatta thinks he is something over fifty years of age, but, like thousands of Africans, does not know the date of his birth.

2. He spent seventeen years in Europe between 1929 and 1946, during which time he visited Belgium, Holland, France, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, Poland, Estonia, Bulgaria, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia, and England.

3. He visited Russia in 1929 and again in 1932, remaining there for at least two years.

4. During these two years he lived in Moscow at the Lux, the hotel maintained exclusively for the international members of the Comintern and for visiting students from other countries.

5. During this Russian period he attended the University of Moscow. "I do not know that there was any crime in doing that," he said defiantly at his trial. "I was my own master and I studied what I wanted."

6. In 1935 he enrolled at the London School of Economics, where he studied anthropology and in 1938 was awarded a post-graduate diploma. His dissertation, a description of the Kikuyu tribe and its customs, was published in book form as *Facing Mount Kenya*.

7. While in London in 1934, Kenyatta shared for a time an apartment near Charing Cross with Paul Robeson when that great Negro singer (and Communist) was making the motion picture *Saunders of the River*. Kenyatta was the African expert on this picture.

8. During his periods of London residence, Kenyatta associated with many of London's liberals and left-wing Marxist intellectuals, many of whom made much of him.

9. While in Berlin and Paris and other continental capitals,

he mingled freely with and participated in the beer hall and sidewalk café life and conversation of these cities.

All of these facts add up to at least a strong presumption of communism in the experience and thinking of this top leader of the Africans in Kenya. Add to these facts the further one that his chief counsel in his trial was Denis Nowell Pritt, Q.C., of London, self-admitted Communist who has frequently visited behind the iron curtain, who has defended many Communists in British trials, and who is best known in America, perhaps, for his successful defense of Gerhart Eisler when he jumped ship in England. Mr. Pritt is also chairman of the British Society for Cultural Relations with Russia, and the author of a dozen books and many pamphlets dealing with Russia and related subjects. Incidentally Mr. Pritt was reported to be receiving a thousand pounds (\$2,800) a week for his services. Kenya people commonly believed that the major portion, if not all of these funds and those necessary for the other defense attorneys, including Diwan Chaman Lall of India and Chief H. O. Davies of Nigeria, were coming from "outside the country."

Mr. Lall, a Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India, in a signed letter published in a London paper said: "I was sent out to Kenya by various Indian bodies to organize Jomo Kenyatta's defense and to help Mr. D. N. Pritt in whatever way I could."

Add the further fact that Mau Mau is organized on the pattern of typical Communist cells, with each member knowing only the membership status of individuals in his own cell—facilitating security in case of arrest, and also leading to fear, mistrust, and suspense since no one can be certain of friend or foe. Also add that it was organized soon after Kenyatta's return to Africa from England.

Mr. Farson characterizes Kenyatta as "a born actor and evident leader . . . a man born to trouble, guardedly evasive."⁴

Mrs. Huxley speaks of him as "the Kikuyu with the small pointed beard and piercing eyes, whose ambitious and ingenious mind directs African political strategy from the wings." She says:

I met Jomo Kenyatta when he was studying anthropology years ago under Malinowski at the London School of Economics. He was the sort of African who in London and New York is often invested with a princely

⁴ Farson, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.

stature. His pointed beard gave him a Mephistophelian look, his manner was suave and ready. As a speaker he is something of a spell-binder. . . . In experience, in guile, and above all in political training, I doubt if there is any Kenya African to match Mr. Kenyatta. For the last fifteen years he has lived in England, lecturing and writing, and learning much of the technique known among Communists as "agitprop."⁵

A notorious Mau Mau gang leader is Dedan Kimathi, a former Kikuyu school teacher, aged thirty, who styles himself "General Russia." He is given credit for being the active brain behind the movement, now that Kenyatta and his associates are behind bars.

Certainly the common feeling on the part of hundreds of Kenyaites was that there was a very close relation between Mau Mau and communism even before legal evidence of formal connection was available to them. They believed that where there was so much Communist smoke, the Kremlin fire was probably not far distant.

And without doubt, the Kremlin is following developments closely, in part through its nearest listening post at Addis Ababa (distant only three hours by air from Nairobi), and standing ready to take a more active and direct hand in them if it judges the occasion should require.

The Kenya African Union is not Communist itself, at least not openly. Kenyatta saw to that after seeing how its forerunner, the KCA, was banned by the government for its illegal subversive activities. He kept the KAU within the letter of the law, and officially kept himself out of Mau Mau. In fact, he claimed to have condemned it in public meetings, but the reports of the so-called condemnations which were presented in evidence at his trial by the defense counsel were somewhat less than convincing. Mrs. Huxley's phrase "directs from the wings" seems very apt. Kenyatta himself claims to be a Christian although not a member of any African church.

How strong is Mau Mau today? It is a secret organization and no one knows the answer to this question with certainty. Opinions in Kenya we found varied widely, but the estimates of those in a position best to know indicated that about 10 to 15 percent of the tribe were active sworn terrorists, engaged in or ready to engage in

⁵ Huxley, *Sorcerer's Apprentice*, p. 60.

murder, arson, mutilation of stock, and intimidation of other Kikuyus; that perhaps an equal number were loyal to the government and were courageously opposing the illegal terrorism of the extremists; while the remaining 70 or 80 percent were awaiting developments before deciding with which side actively to align themselves. Many of this middle group had been forced by fear to take the bloody black-magic Mau Mau sevenfold barbaric oath of murder and hate to the accompaniment of the drinking of human blood, and to aid the extremists by giving them information and supplies even though they might not really approve their actions. Canon T. F. C. Bewes, a missionary for twenty-five years in Africa and African Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, reported that of the 22,000 Christian adherents in the Fort Hall district only 800 were known to have refused to take the Mau Mau oath.⁶ In many respects the pattern was similar to that of the Communist terrorists as we found them in Malaya.

Some Communist influence in Kenya can also be traced to India as its source. There is much commerce across the Indian Ocean not only in goods but in ideas between India and Africa, particularly between Bombay with its strong Communist influences and Mombasa, the main port of Kenya. Regarding the Indians in Kenya, who outnumber the Europeans three to one, Mrs. Huxley wrote in early 1952 before the present state of emergency was declared:

Much more industrious, astute, and tough than the Africans, they would in a very short while establish an ascendancy which would put out of court for a long time to come the African dream of self-government. Hitherto they have succeeded in allaying African fears on this score by building up a united anti-European front, accompanied by such gestures as the awarding of scholarships at Indian universities to African leaders, who are chosen more for their political views than for their intellectual equipment. The prime mover in this is an official of the East Africa National Congress, who is also an avowed and energetic Communist. The Communist movement in East Africa, not as yet widespread or influential, is being introduced mainly through Indian channels.⁷

⁶ T. F. C. Bewes, "The Work of the Christian Church among the Kikuyu," *International Affairs*, July 1953, pp. 316-25.

⁷ Huxley, *Yale Review*, Summer 1952, p. 496.

The foregoing paragraph was shown to several individuals in Nairobi, both American and British, who agreed as to its essential accuracy. However, Arnold Curtis, government officer in charge of higher education (including foreign scholarships) said that the Indian scholarship policy as described by Mrs. Huxley had recently been modified so as to give at least some weight to "intellectual" as well as "political" factors, although he admitted that the latter were still prominent if not determining. He himself had been asked to serve on the committee on selection of candidates, and the committee now at least invites information and advice from government and private educators on the qualification of candidates. "Nevertheless," said Mr. Curtis, "the parents of one boy applying for a scholarship were told that it would be very simple and easy to arrange it for him— if he would just take the Mau Mau oath!" Mr. Curtis also stated that there are now about a score of young Africans studying on scholarships in Indian universities. Communist influences have been found to be strong in many of the leading universities of India, as already reported in chapter 5.

One Indian educator, Peter Wright, a teacher in the Asian Modern High School at Nairobi, was dismissed from his position and subsequently expelled from the colony for "engaging in political activities improper in a government official."

Although the African population in Kenya is increasing at an unprecedented rate (official estimates of population are based on a figure of 42 percent children as compared with about 30 percent in America), the Indian population is increasing even faster. In Mombasa, for example, more than half of the Indian population is children. In cities like Mombasa they may even outnumber the Africans in a generation if the present rate of increase continues.

Mrs. Huxley also says that eight out of ten Africans in Kenya still live as their fathers did, but the ninth is changing his ways, and the tenth has already changed them—he dresses in European style, has had some education, reads the papers, and feels himself entitled to a place in the world of today. He is reading with avidity his own vernacular newspapers, she says, "which drop into his mind, dram by dram, race hatred's subtle poison." She continues:

The opportunity this state of mind throws open to agitators, some

Communist inspired, is obvious especially as long as the "new" African is not socially acceptable by the whites. . . . This class of African, while still very small, is quickly growing, for education is forging ahead. The Africans passionately desire it, governments vote large amounts for it, and the white settlers, too, support it, although they often criticize its contents on the grounds that it turns out too many conceited, work-shy, left-wing clerks, and not enough hard-working farmers and craftsmen—a cry which may be heard the world over. Literacy is spreading, and so is the output of native-run newspapers that attack both the Government and all Europeans in an often virulent and unscrupulous way.⁸

Again Mrs. Huxley writes:

The syllabus and methods followed with such dubious success in our European industrial island, have simply been exported like a bale of cotton from Manchester. No one, it appears, has paused to ask whether the subjects taught—and the way of teaching them—to children of factory workers in an ancient European city will best serve the children of African peasants in a new land without history. . . . Going around the classes . . . you find yourself seeing the [Cambridge] School Certificate as a kind of strait jacket into which all these industrious young Africans, so eager for knowledge as for a sort of magic, are being strapped.⁹

Nor is Mrs. Huxley the only person to criticize adversely the British-administered education in Kenya. Thus Mr. Farson says:

The secondary part of the Kenya African education, most of which is given by the Government, is odiously academic [and designed almost entirely for a white-collar class]. I think that the White Man should put something new into his educational policy, something that will better educate the African for life . . . in Africa. . . . The dates of the kings and queens of England should be utterly discarded. An education about Kenya, White settlement there, would be a far more useful thing, embarrassing as some of its incidents might be.¹⁰

Again he says:

Any District Commissioner will tell you that a proper and widespread education could mean everything. The present assortment of inconsequential facts that it is now being tried to stuff into the African's woolly head can perhaps best be portrayed by a remark by Sir Philip Mitchell [former governor of Kenya] when he was being conducted

⁸ Huxley, *ibid.*, p. 495.

⁹ Huxley, *Sorcerer's Apprentice*, p. 75.

¹⁰ Farson, *op. cit.*, pp. 124, 134, 205.

around a new African school. "What," he said, turning to his assistant, "can the naval policy of the Phoenicians possibly mean to these poor people?"¹¹

Contrast Jomo Kenyatta's philosophy of education in the now banned Kenya Teachers College: "I am sending out our graduates," he said, "with something that I hope is going to *work*. I want them proud to be Africans. I don't want them to be a lot of Black Englishmen!"¹² We may agree with Kenyatta's admirable educational aim while deploring some of the warped type of graduates he has sent out as teachers into the schools of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association, described below.

Government policy in Kenya has been to leave primary education of African children very largely in the hands of the mission schools, which on the whole have been well and efficiently organized, and to grant these schools extensive annual financial subsidies after inspection and approval of their curriculum, plant, staff, and methods. But Kikuyu leaders were not satisfied in many cases with the education given in some of these *foreign* mission schools, and over twenty years ago applied for and received licenses by the government in 1932 to establish schools of their own. These schools were associated with the native Kikuyu Independent Pentecostal Church; that is, they were placed on the same legal basis as other mission schools. These new schools, however, in the course of a few years became more closely linked with the Kenya Central Association than with the church. A total of almost two hundred such schools were set up with an attendance of more than 30,000 Kikuyu boys and girls. (At his trial, Kenyatta testified that when he returned from England he found over 300 such schools educating over 60,000 Kikuyu children, but these figures are greatly exaggerated according to official government sources.) These schools, however, for the most part failed to meet government standards and therefore received no financial aid from the government. They were supported by fees and voluntary contributions from the Kikuyu themselves.

To provide teachers for these and other Kikuyu schools, the Kenya Teachers College was founded at Githunguri in the late 1930's by Peter Koinange. Mr. Koinange had spent a year at the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

¹² Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 127.

University of Cambridge followed by further years at Harvard and Columbia Universities. As Mr. Farson tells the story, the foundation of the college was the result of a grudge. When Mr. Koinange returned from America, full of idealism, hope, and ambition for the improvement of his people, he was offered a teacher's job by the government at just one-half the salary that its former occupant, a white man, had received. Saying that the money he had spent to secure his own education in England and America had not been cut in half because of the color of his skin, he indignantly rejected the offer and devoted himself instead to founding the Kenya Teachers College. Mr. Farson characterizes this episode as "the most stupid bone-headed act that any Government education department could have invented."¹³ When Mr. Farson visited the college in 1948 the first textbook he saw upon entering a classroom was *Race Conflicts in Africa*. At this time Jomo Kenyatta had succeeded Peter Koinange as president of the college.

The college and the primary schools throughout Kikuyu territory were organized in the thirties into the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association. More and more, however, they became training grounds for nationalistic and anti-white sentiments. Much of the literature used in the schools was designed for whipping up race hatred. The children were taught to recite the creed: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty, in the holy sacrifice of Gikuyu na Mumbi [the leadership of Kenyatta and Mbui] and the righteous complaints and unity of the Kikuyu."¹⁴ When the Mau Mau difficulties began to develop it was soon found that these schools in many cases had become centers for subversive planning, anti-European activities, and Mau Mau indoctrination and depots for hostile publications. It was reported that in many cases the pupils were forced to take the Mau Mau oath. In some cases, if they refused, they were beaten or their parents' huts were burned down. It was brought out in the trial of Kenyatta that even the hymn books used in the schools had had the name of Jomo Kenyatta blasphemously substituted for that of Jesus Christ in many of the hymns. Some of the hymns also changed "the wicked" to "the British" or "white people."

Acting under the September emergency regulations, the govern-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁴ *Times Educational Supplement* (London) Nov. 21, 1952, p. 941.

ment ordered all the schools of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association closed, 188 in number, with about 27,000 primary and 297 secondary school students. Most of these, including the Kenya Teachers College, were closed in October 1952, most of the remainder in January 1953 after they had refused an opportunity to continue under either mission or government supervision. Many of the teachers were lodged in prison—"and many others should be," said one district education officer to the writer. A few schools were allowed to reopen after appropriate screening and clearance of their teachers. The government has made an effort, only partially successful, to find a place for the children from the closed schools in mission and other schools.

The Mau Mau were not slow to retaliate. Mission and other private school buildings were burned. Teachers and parents of children in schools operated by Europeans were warned to boycott those schools. The campaign of intimidation included threatening notices posted on school doors and other written and verbal threats. In the Othaya division of Kiambu, notices were nailed to the schoolhouse doors at the opening of the new term, January 12, 1952, headed: "The Mau Mau Marshall Court: Head Office at Mount Kenya," and threatening any parent who sent a child to the school with "death by an oath of a he-goat." The notices also threatened anyone taking part in any discussion of educational matters, any teacher trying to persuade children to return to school, and anyone reading the notice who failed to tell others of its contents, and ended: "We are the Mau Mau. We are sixty people. We have returned to Mount Kenya."

A chain letter was found in the Fort Hall district, signed "The Nine Clans," which instructed parents not to send their children to mission schools. Recipients of the letter were instructed to copy it seven times and send the copies to other parents. At the opening of the new term at Fort Hall, verbal and written threats were made to murder parents who sent their children to either mission or government schools.

A government statement said:

This campaign has had a considerable effect on the attendance at the schools that have been opened to replace the closed independent

schools. For example, in the Fort Hall district twelve primary schools had no attendants on January 17, and fourteen others had considerably reduced attendance. Intermediate schools are not affected to the same extent. There are, however, indications that many parents and teachers are defying the threats and at many schools children are returning in increasing numbers. There is no doubt that Kikuyu resistance groups organized by chiefs and by the missions have been a big factor in encouraging parents and pupils to defy the Mau Mau threats.

In the Nyeri Reserve the attendance was reduced to about 50 percent of the pre-emergency attendance. In one school it was only 28 percent of the previous year's figure. Many schools were being visited by government armored cars and foot patrols in an effort to build up morale and provide added security.

Sir Evelyn Baring, the new governor of Kenya who assumed the duties of that office in September 1952 and was almost immediately precipitated into the storm center of the Mau Mau troubles, in a fighting statement at Nairobi January 26, said:

A good example of the vicious and irresponsible nature of the Mau Mau leaders and of the sort of people with whom we are struggling in Kenya is the recent experience in education. As you know, the government has definitely closed the Kikuyu independent schools, except for a very few which stood out bravely against the Mau Mau movement. But at the same time government has said that they will make provisions for the children elsewhere insofar as this is possible. During my recent tour I found plenty of evidence that parents of children who had been at independent schools were willing to send these children to new schools either under the District Education Board or under mission societies. But there was equally ample evidence that they were being prevented from doing so by a calculated campaign of threats and intimidation. In order to gain their political ends by violent means, the Mau Mau leaders were prepared to see the children suffer. We are all determined, however, that the best possible protection shall be given to teachers, children, and parents and that, however long it may take, our plans for education will not be disrupted by gangster methods.

Alan Bromley is education officer in the Nyeri district, in the heart of the Mau Mau country. "We have closed some thirty schools in this district, all members of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association," said Mr. Bromley to the writer. "Most of the

teachers were members of Mau Mau. We found quantities of subversive literature in these schools, sometimes hidden in boxes under the floors. They have been trying to carry on the banned schools surreptitiously in banana groves and elsewhere. Many problems face us, and we are trying to meet them from day to day, but Mau Mau terrorism in the schools is difficult to combat."

Mr. Bromley also discussed feelingly a related disturbing situation, several thousand miles distant from Kenya. He said:

"Some of our Kenya young men have been sent to England for advanced study. But they have been lonely in London—and London can be the loneliest city in the world for a stranger from the colonies, particularly if he has a dark-colored skin and is of a hesitant or retiring nature. Communist agents in London, however, are on the lookout for just such young men. They are very friendly. They invite them to tea and to evenings of discussion. The lonely students respond quickly to such warm and friendly advances to strangers in a strange country—and before long they are well on their way to becoming full-fledged Communist agents. Several of our young men have already returned to Kenya after such experience in London and are stirring up trouble here today."

Nor is Mr. Bromley the only one to note this unfortunate condition. Mr. Farson adds his testimony:

There are usually 900 black students from Africa in England of whom over three-fourths are in London. They see little of British life, as it seems the Communists are the only people who take a real interest in them. Here is where hatreds and frustrations are born.¹⁵

Mr. Bull at Kisumu on Lake Victoria is district education officer for Nyanza Province, outside the immediate Kikuyu area. He has been in education work in Africa for thirty years. "Communist influence in the Mau Mau?" he said, in answer to a question. "Officially, no. But nonofficially, we are not so sure. Certainly there are subversive influences at work. I know of no direct Communist influence in the schools of our district today, but we are uncertain and apprehensive of tomorrow. For the Mau Mau movement in the colony is getting worse, not better. I am informed that Mau Mau members have even ear-marked individual farms and

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

motor cars of Europeans which faithful members will secure as rewards when the Europeans are driven out and the Mau Mau takes over. Unfortunately the attitudes of European settlers toward the native Africans and their treatment of them vary from black to white and all intermediate shades of gray. I have no doubt we will crush this Mau Mau movement, but it may take a long time."

Eight months later, in October 1953, a high-ranking British officer said that "conditions are no better, and in many respects are worse, than they were a year ago." And the same month Governor Baring is reported to have said to the boys of Prince of Wales Secondary School in Nairobi: "Kenya will still be in a state of stress when you are middle-aged."

Such is a report on Communist and near-Communist activities and influences in troubled Kenya as they appeared to the writer after a few weeks of intensive study. Sir Philip Mitchell, predecessor of Governor Baring, was probably the best governor that Kenya ever had. After thirty-three years of service in Africa, Mr. Farson said of him, "He knows too much about Africa to be positive about anything in it." A good note on which to close this difficult section.

Uganda

Conditions are far more conducive to peaceful living in Uganda than in adjacent Kenya which lies immediately east of it. Although less than half the size of Kenya, it has almost as great a population—but without the extreme and increasing land hunger which is the basic cause of Kenya's troubles. The rainfall is greater, and there are no large arid wastes. Furthermore it is a protectorate, not a colony, so there are not thousands of permanent European settlers in the territory to create tension. The few Europeans are almost all in government service with the primary responsibility of administering the country for the benefit and improvement of the native population. "Although it has its political ferments, one might call Uganda a happy country," aptly remarked a recent visitor to it.

At Kampala, the commercial center of Uganda, are located Makerere College and the government education headquarters, although the official capital is twenty miles distant at the much smaller Entebbe on the shore of Lake Victoria, the largest body of fresh water in Africa and second largest in the world, exceeded only by Lake Superior.

C. R. V. Bell, Deputy Director of Education, has had thirteen years of experience in Africa—in British Somaliland, Kenya, and Uganda. “So far we have had no disturbances in our schools,” said Mr. Bell, “although there are some Kikuyus in them. We fear that some of the teachers from the recently closed Kikuyu schools in Kenya may cross over to Uganda and stir up trouble here. There is much nationalistic sentiment among the teachers and students in our upper secondary schools. Some of them would doubtless be surprised to be called Communists and probably would rightfully deny it, but nevertheless they are probably being used by Communist leaders and are spreading Communist propaganda and literature supplied by Communist agents. I have reason to believe that in British Somaliland and Kenya as well as in Uganda, the three territories which I know best, much literature and influence is coming from the well-organized Soviet Embassy and Information Service in Addis Ababa.

“As to general educational conditions in Uganda,” continued Mr. Bell, “three out of every four African boys and about one out of three of the girls go to school at sometime or other of their lives. Unfortunately they do not stay in school. Not more than one child in twelve completes the four-year primary course, and not more than one in 500 reaches the end of the twelfth year of school life. We had last year in Uganda 1,606 schools—1,519 for Africans, 83 for Asians, and 4 for Europeans, with a total enrollment of 221,043 including 9,800 Asians and 900 Europeans.”

Makerere College occupies a commanding site on one of the seven hills of Kampala. Founded as a technical school in 1922, it became an interterritorial institute for East Africa in 1937 and was advanced to the status of a university college, affiliated with the University of London, in 1945. Bernard de Bunsen, principal, was absent on leave, but we talked with the vice-principal, F. L.

Gee, who has had twenty-two years' experience at the institution in various capacities. "We now have 270 students, almost all Africans," said Mr. Gee, "and can accommodate 600 with our present plant. We hope eventually to have 2,000 students and to become an independent University of East Africa. Thirty percent of the enrollment is reserved for students from each of the three territories, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika, with 5 percent from Zanzibar and 5 percent from other areas. At present we have only 13 young women, but we hope the number will increase. We are now building a women's hostel which will have accommodations for 50 young women.

"We have had no direct trouble with Communist students so far," continued Mr. Gee. "Last year we had a student strike over food in the hostels, in which a leftist student had a prominent part. Some of our Kikuyu students from Kenya are afraid to go back home now because of the Mau Mau activities, and we have been able to secure temporary employment for them in Uganda. No doubt there is a little filing cabinet in the Kremlin labeled 'Uganda' with one drawer of it labeled 'Makerere College.' But conditions are relatively good in Uganda. There are few, if any, empty stomachs (in spite of our strike last year!), and the climate is not suitable for widespread Communist agitation. But we are watching possible future development with care."

There is no question of unemployment of graduates of the college, as in India or Egypt, with resultant encouragement of Communist developments. At present every successful graduate of Makerere College is assured a position in the service of his territorial government if he wants it.

Tanganyika

Tanganyika, larger than the other three East African territories combined, lies to the south of them, stretching along the shores of the Indian Ocean and extending far into the interior. Before World War II it was German East Africa, but is now administered by Great Britain under a United Nations' trusteeship. Like Uganda, it has no large-scale problem of European colonization to contend

with. The guiding principle of the trusteeship is "native interests are paramount."

Some 16,000 Kikuyus from Kenya have settled on the Tanganyika side of the border. Governor Sir Edward Twining of Tanganyika announced at the opening session of the Legislative Council that there were signs of increasing Mau Mau activity and agitation among this group. He said that the Tanganyika police had been screening suspects and that many "undesirables" were being escorted to the border—to be met by no less friendly Kenya police. In addition a large-scale exodus of Kikuyus from Tanganyika, amounting to at least 6,000 people, has taken place on a voluntary basis caused by the rumor, probably false, that they would lose all land rights in their native tribal areas in Kenya if they did not return to claim them. Recently the railway authorities faced an unexpected problem when more than a thousand men, women, and children with all their portable belongings appeared at a single station for transportation to already overcrowded Nairobi en route to their native Kiambu Reserve.

Under the British administration of the trusteeship the number of African children in school has increased to over 50,000 in 1951. Thirty years earlier it was only 3,800. But still the number of schools is far from adequate. "Out of six million natives in Tanganyika, perhaps only 200 are really educated. We have only three secondary schools," said an African chief, Abdiel Shangali, a member of the Legislative Council, to Mrs. Huxley.¹⁶

Unfortunately we were unable to visit the capital, Dar es Salaam, during our trip through northern Tanganyika nor to talk with the educational officers there. We traveled for a half-day with a government administrator from southern Tanganyika, who said there was some Communist infiltration along the coast but that it had not penetrated significantly into the interior as yet. There was considerable and increasing distribution of Communist literature.

We spent a day at the American Lutheran Mission's training college for teachers at Marangu, on the slope of Mount Kilimanjaro, Africa's highest mountain whose snowcapped peak rises to a

¹⁶ Elspeth Huxley, *Sorcerer's Apprentice* p. 127.

height of almost 20,000 feet—a spectacular site for the school of some two hundred boys. At the invitation of the principal, Mr. Palm, we spoke to faculty and students on general educational conditions and developments in Asia. Many of the questions, which kept up for almost an hour afterward, dealt with communism, the reasons for it, its threat to education, and the most effective means of combating it. The students showed a commendable and intelligent interest in world affairs.

Mr. Palm said that they had had no problem of Communist influence in the school. Last year there was a student strike on account of food, which might have had some Communist background, but it was quickly settled and to the satisfaction of all concerned. "But there is increasing unrest," he said, "among the thousands of Kikuyus settled around Mount Kilimanjaro, some of whom send their sons to our school, and thus there is increasing danger of trouble developing among them. I cannot understand why the British government allowed Kenyatta to come back to Africa to stir up so much trouble here."

On the basis of such limited evidence, we reached the tentative conclusion that communism does not constitute as yet a major problem in the schools of Tanganyika. But the seeds of possible trouble undoubtedly are present.

Zanzibar

The small island of Zanzibar, colorful in its long history since the beginning of the Christian Era or even earlier, is ruled by a sultan with the advice of a British "resident." The Anglican Cathedral is built on the exact spot formerly occupied by the notorious slave market where 50,000 slaves a year from the interior were sold to the highest bidders. Within a stone's throw are several mission schools. Not far away is the house in which Dr. David Livingstone lived while preparing for his last journey into the interior in his unrelenting crusade against the notorious slave trade.

B. A. Babb for two years has been the Director of Education for Zanzibar, following twenty years of educational service in Nigeria and Tanganyika. "As yet we have had no real problem of com-

munism in any of our schools," he said. "We have had an occasional Communist student, but they have not made any trouble. Zanzibar is 99 percent Muslim, and the Islamic faith, as you know, is basically opposed to communism. I do not know of any Communist literature coming into the schools. We are entirely out of the sphere of the Mau Mau troubles of the interior."

Ethiopia

Ethiopia, completely landlocked and without a seaport of its own until its recent federation with Eritrea provided it with an outlet on the Red Sea at Massawa, is almost as large as Texas, with a population estimated at 10,000,000. The only railroad from the capital, Addis Ababa, connects with the French port of Djibouti on the Red Sea in French Somaliland.

The recently established University College is located at Addis Ababa. It is a government-supported institution under the direct patronage of the Emperor who has taken pains to see that it has ample funds for library, equipment, and services—something of a novelty in the educational world. Another novelty is the fact that it is operated under contract by a group of Canadian Jesuits, who are not in clerical garb and who have agreed not to attempt to teach religion to the students, formally or informally. (One who attempted it was promptly sent home.) The key to this unusual arrangement seems to be that the Emperor received much of his early education in a Jesuit institution and was very favorably impressed by it. Present enrollment is only about one hundred students although the buildings and equipment are easily adequate for five times that number.

The writer had interviews with G. Beland, S.J., dean of students of the college; with Perry Carmichael, an American educational adviser to the government and also principal of the Haile Selassie Elementary and Secondary School with about 1,400 students; and with Edward C. Jandy, American public information officer. All of these agreed that they knew of no Communist influence in any of the schools of the country.

We had an opportunity to see for ourselves, however, the very

effective displays maintained by the Soviet Information Service at Addis Ababa, far superior, we were sorry to observe, to those of the United States Information Service. The USIS has an excellent though small library on the second floor of a building in the center of Addis Ababa, but its display of visual materials, so important for those not able to read English (true of most of the inhabitants of Ethiopia), was limited to a few small photographs in a frame in an obscure alcove by the stairway. Further, the USIS library was closed from one to three o'clock, in common with most offices and business houses in the city. By contrast, however, the Soviet Information Service, a block away, was wide open to all comers during these two strategic hours when all business is at a standstill and many people have a leisure period. It occupied several large ground-floor rooms which were filled with most attractively displayed, mammoth-sized pictures, most of them in colors. They had beautifully lettered explanatory captions in both English and Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia. They depicted progressive commercial, industrial, agricultural, social, and educational developments in the Soviet Union. All in all it was a most attractive and convincing type of display. The large tables were covered with magazines in a variety of languages. And we had an opportunity to observe that they were being used by the people, including many young people, during the hour that we spent there while waiting for the American library to open again. Evidently the Soviet Information Service is not hampered by the limitations of the forty-hour week!

The Soviet Embassy in Addis Ababa was given credit in several of the countries we visited for extensive dissemination of Communist propaganda and for other influence in all of the vast African regions south of Ethiopia—in West Africa, Central Africa, and East Africa. There is no other Soviet diplomatic agency until one reaches Johannesburg, more than 2,500 miles south.

A recent writer says:

The Politburo regards Africa with its low living standards and political and racial tensions as an ideal ground for Communist penetration. Consequently the Russian Embassy in Addis Ababa has been staffed with two hundred experts keeping close watch on the scene and dis-

patching clandestine agents to all potential trouble spots. Most of these agitators are Moscow-trained Negroes, but there are also a number of white Europeans. Their main goal is to delay the bolstering of African defenses and to conquer its people the same way they conquered the Chinese.¹⁷

At Addis Ababa also is an excellent Russian hospital where African patients get medical and surgical treatment at little or no cost. It was reported that recently a score of "technicians" were added to the staff of the hospital—whose knowledge of medical sciences was decidedly limited if not nonexistent, but all of whom were trained specialists and experts in propaganda methods and in the organization of fifth columns. We were to secure further evidence of their activities in Uganda and Somalia.

Eritrea

Eritrea is a relatively narrow strip of coastal country about 700 miles in length lying along the Red Sea from French Somaliland to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It has an area about equal to that of the state of Missouri. It was administered by Italy from 1886 until it was occupied by Allied forces in 1941. The population is about 1,500,000, mostly nomads. In September 1952 it was federated with Ethiopia, under Emperor Haile Selassie, which now has responsibility for its foreign affairs, currency, and trade, while full powers on domestic matters including education are retained by Eritrea. The capital is Asmara, a modern city of 120,000 people, delightfully situated in the healthful highlands at an elevation of 7,800 feet. The principal port is Massawa on the Red Sea.

According to E. R. J. Hussey, British Director of Education, who has had many years of educational experience in the Sudan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Uganda, education is very poorly developed in Eritrea, standards are lower than in the Sudan or Ethiopia, the curriculum is poorly balanced, there is only one secondary school, and the entire staff of teachers should be replaced or retrained. Total enrollment in all schools is less than 15,000.

¹⁷ George W. Herald, "Africa: Strategic Prize of the Century," *United Nations World*, February 1952, pp. 17-20+.

Clarence Breaux, American consul at Asmara, told the writer that as far as he knew, in the poor existing schools—almost all of them at the primary level—there was no significant Communist influence.

Somalia

Somalia, formerly known as Italian Somaliland, stretches for more than 1,100 miles along the northeast coast of Africa from Kenya to the Gulf of Aden. It is about the size of Texas and west Virginia combined and supports a population of 1,250,000 people, mostly illiterate Muslim nomads. The country was occupied by Allied forces in February 1941. After the war it was administered by Great Britain until April 1950 when it was returned to Italian administration under a United Nations' trusteeship which provides for complete independence by 1960.

We steamed for days along Somalia's low, bleak, sandy shore, stopping at the two ports of Kismayu and Mogadishu for passengers and cargo. Since there are no docking facilities at these ports, we anchored a half-mile offshore and were unable to land for conferences with education officers. However, at Mogadishu, the capital, with a population of 60,000 people, a half-dozen Italian officials came aboard, bound for Italy on home leave. These included a public school teacher, a district administrator, an officer of the merchant marine, and others. They talked freely with us in a "ship-board seminar," from which we probably learned more about Communist and near-Communist conditions in Somalia than we would have found out if we had been permitted to go ashore at Mogadishu. These officials asked only that they be not mentioned by name to avoid possible complications when they return to their duties in Somalia.

Under the provisions of the trusteeship, Italy is supposed to provide primary schools for all the children of the territory—an almost impossible task with the large nomadic population. The capital, Mogadishu, has about 1,200 children in primary school, or about one child in six of school age. The one secondary school enrolls only 60 students. In the entire territory the enrollment is about

one in eight or ten pupils of school age. Since the Somalia tongue has not been reduced to writing, all instruction is in Arabic or Italian, with the former language destined to become the official one of the country.

There are about 600 teachers in Somalia, almost equally divided among Italians, Arabs, and Somalis. No Communists are known to be in the first two groups, but 98 percent of the Somali teachers are members of the Somali Youth League, which has strong Communist connections, as described below.

The key to the situation in Somalia appears to be this Somali Youth League, known locally as SYL (pronounced as a single word "*Sil*"). It was explained that "Youth" in the title does not refer to the membership, which is composed of men of all ages, but to the objectives of the organization—unification and reform—in somewhat the same sense as "Young Turks" was used in Turkey a quarter-century ago. The basic objective of the organization is an independent Somaliland to include all of the two million or more Somalis now found in British Somaliland (not visited by us; an area equal to that of Missouri, with a population of 600,000, adjoining Somalia on the northwest), French Somaliland (see below), southern Ethiopia, and northern Kenya. The organization claims to have 100,000 full members and over 300,000 active supporters. Headquarters are in Mogadishu, but there are many Communist-type cells in all of the areas named above. The raised clenched fist is the sign of recognition. There is a very strong left wing, including many restless young men.

According to the Italian story, SYL was mistakenly encouraged by the British, who thought it a progressive, constructive agency for reform. They discovered their error too late when, in January 1948, SYL staged violent disorders in Mogadishu, looting or destroying hundreds of foreign-owned shops and offices in the city, killing at least fifty Italians and wounding six times that number. The local Somali police joined with the SYL rioters, and the British military police looked in the other direction. Their commanding officer was later reprimanded for his failure to order protective action and transferred but the damage had been done.

On August 1, 1952, the Italian police raided the two chief SYL

headquarters at Mogadishu and Kismayu and placed all their officers under arrest. In March 1953 they were awaiting trial. In these two headquarters were found large quantities of Communist literature and instructions which had been received from the Soviet Hospital in Addis Ababa. The Italian officials have much other evidence, also, of the close Communist connections of SYL. SYL is in close touch with the Mau Mau (60,000 Kenya Somalis are not far from Mount Kenya and the northern Kikuyu Reserves), and with nationalistic movements in Egypt and North Africa. Some particularly promising students have been sent on scholarships to Egypt and Italy. Some of these, especially in Egypt, have been sending Communist literature back to their friends in Somalia.

All told, the situation is highly explosive among the Somali tribes in the five territories of northeast Africa where they are located. It is seething with political unrest and SYL agitation. There are plenty of "troubled waters" among these sandy wastes. If Mau Mau disturbances become more violent and successful in Kenya, it may be expected that they will have prompt and sympathetic repercussions among the members of SYL—aided and directed by their friends in neighboring Addis Ababa.

French Somaliland

French Somaliland is a small political unit on the Red Sea, only 9,000 square miles, about the size of New Hampshire. The population is about 50,000—two-thirds of them nomads, one-third of them living in the modern French-built town of Djibouti, the port on the Red Sea. Djibouti is the terminus of the railroad from Addis Ababa and the principal port for Ethiopian exports.

Elie Gravier has for five years been the Director of Education, following twenty years of educational service in Indo-China. The entire school system consists of 1,960 pupils (300 of them in four secondary schools) and 45 teachers. We enjoyed visiting with him three admirably constructed modern school buildings in Djibouti, especially designed by French architects for tropical conditions—buildings in which he took a justifiable pride.

Mr. Gravier said that he had had no problem of communism in

the schools. Political and religious activity in them is forbidden by law. Most of the children are too young to have any interest in such subjects as communism. Most of the teachers are French, but they have no Communist leanings or association with French Communists. The children in Djibouti are eager for education, and the chief problem is to secure funds for needed new buildings.

Had we known at the time of our visit to French Somaliland of the existence of the Somali Youth League in adjacent Somalia, we would have inquired concerning its organization and activity in French Somaliland. No information regarding it was volunteered by Mr. Gravier.

9. North Africa

LIBYA TUNISIA ALGERIA FRENCH MOROCCO
SPANISH MOROCCO TANGIER

NORTH AFRICA, west of Egypt, consists of six territories stretching for 2,500 miles or more along the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea westward to the Atlantic Ocean. Names and governments of these in order from east to west are as follows:

Libya	.....	Independent monarchy
Tunisia	.....	French protectorate
Algeria	.....	Division of French Union
French Morocco	.....	French protectorate
Spanish Morocco	.....	Spanish protectorate
Tangier	.....	International zone

Libya is equal in area to Alaska and Oregon combined; Tunisia, to North Carolina; Algeria, to Alaska and Texas; French Morocco, to California; Spanish Morocco, to Maryland and New Jersey; Tangier, to four times the District of Columbia. The total area is more than half that of the United States but with less than one-sixth of its population. Much of it consists of sandy desert with few inhabitants.

Libya

Libya was under Italian control from the time of the Italo-Turkish War in 1911 until it was taken over by the British forces in World War II. The British remained in control until December

24, 1951, when, in accordance with the decision of the United Nations, complete independence was granted. It is now a constitutional monarchy under a king.

The capital is the attractive and thriving city of Tripoli. Six miles east of the city is the recently reactivated Wheelus Field, the modern American \$58 million air base with some five thousand American personnel—an advance bastion of the air against possible Communist aggression.

In the late 1940's Dr. Enrico Cibelli, an influential Italian Communist lawyer, initiated a Communist-front organization of Arabs and Italians in Libya. A student branch composed of about 90 percent Italians and 10 percent Arabs flourished for a few years under his leadership and "had considerable nuisance value." Like other organizations of that period, it found in nationalism and the struggle for independence potent grounds for agitation. Early in 1951, however, British authorities made a 4:00 A.M. call at Cibelli's residence and "advised" him and four of his lieutenants to take a ship that morning for Italy—advice which they promptly followed. After his departure the student organization which he had sponsored collapsed and little more was heard of it. It was primarily an Italian organization, not an Arab one, and Italian influence was on the wane after the war. Particularly after independence was achieved, in December of the same year, there was no occasion for further nationalistic agitation.

Members of the staff of the American consulate at Tripoli as well as a teacher in the technical school there agreed that there was little Communist influence in the schools now, although there was some anti-American sentiment and considerable sympathy for Egyptian students in their anti-British demonstrations.

"The greatest problem here today with the country's newly granted independence," said a member of the staff of the consulate to the writer, "is to find enough trained leaders for the necessary administrative positions in the government. There are only fourteen Arabs in the entire country who have been to college. Literacy is only 2 percent among the Arab population. Most of those in positions of leadership and responsibility today in the new government were only departmental clerks a year and a half ago. British advisers remain in most of the departments, but the Arabs appear

to take satisfaction frequently in ignoring their advice. If there is a breakdown in government or conditions get too bad, it is possible the Communists might try to take over. At present they have been outlawed as an organization. I should say that now they are keeping under cover, circulating their literature, and gently probing for possible soft spots and favorable openings. Recently a leading Greek Communist was found in Tripoli and sent home by the police. Much Communist literature is coming in from Rome, Vienna, and Prague. One mailing of such literature was evidently sent to every address in the telephone directory. Two Communist newspapers have recently been banned by the government."

Tunisia

From the western border of Libya to the Atlantic Ocean, across Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, French influence is dominant. Communism is legal in France, in fact 26 percent of the votes in the last national election were for Communist candidates. Following the pattern of the mother country, communism has not been outlawed in the French-controlled territories of Tunisia and Algeria although it has been, somewhat inconsistently, in Morocco.

But while the Communist party is legal in Tunisia, in practice its activities have been impeded in many ways by the government. *L'Humanité*, the Communist party's official newspaper published in Paris, is not allowed to circulate in Tunisia. A local Communist paper has been suppressed. It is difficult to secure permits for public meetings or demonstrations. Nationalistic sentiment is strong and is getting stronger. There may be some Communist infiltration into the nationalist organizations although nationalist leaders have formally repudiated Communist backing.

After World War II, Communists established a number of organizations in Tunisia with seemingly nonpolitical objectives. They included youth groups, cultural societies, peace groups, women's organizations, and social service groups. But most of them did not flourish; they seemed to lack driving power, and none of them is active today.

The most active Communist influence, at least in the city of

Tunis, appears to be the vigorous Communist cell organized by teachers of the Lycée Carnot, the leading secondary school of Tunis. This school has some 3,000 students (all boys) and 110 teachers. It was impossible to learn the actual or even approximate number of Communists in the teachers' cell. Probably there are cells among the students also. There is no university in Tunis. Graduates of the lycées who wish further education go to France for it, principally to the Universities of Bordeaux and Paris.

At the United States consulate the writer was shown a letter addressed to "Monsieur L'Ambassadeur des Etats Unis à Tunis" (although the United States has no embassy or ambassador in Tunisia), signed by the "Communist Cell of the Teachers of Lycée Carnot." It was a vigorous protest against the death sentence on the atomic spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

The most important and influential activity of this Communist cell, however, seems to be its sponsorship of the "Université Nouvelle"—a lecture foundation which holds frequent meetings at which outstanding Communist leaders are speakers. As many as 500 students at a time attend these lectures. Most of them are French, but a considerable number of Arabs are also regular attendants. A speaker who had recently visited Red China reported in glowing terms the wonderful developments in New China and was greeted with loud applause. Carefully planted questions have added to the effectiveness of the meetings.

The Communist movement is gaining momentum among the students, according to a member of the United States consular staff. The number of Communist students has doubled within a year, he says. A special Communist Muslim Women's League has been organized and has an enthusiastic and growing membership. Much student literature is being distributed, especially that originating with the International Federation of Students at Prague.

Algeria

Unlike Tunisia and Morocco which legally are French protectorates, Algeria (sometimes spoken of as "the brightest jewel in

the French Empire"—and rightly so) is an integral part of the French Union. Regularly its separate French and Arab electoral groups choose their representatives to the French National Assembly at Paris. The French population constitutes about one-eighth of the total. Economic conditions are excellent among the French. Most of them are businessmen and landowners. There is no peasant class. There is, therefore, far less appeal of communism in Algiers than in Paris or Marseilles.

The University of Algiers, located at Algiers, a modern French city of a half-million people, is administered as one of the seventeen French universities, all controlled from Paris. It is given credit for being one of the most progressive and promising of the entire group. Its Institute of Higher Islamic Studies is making a strong bid for Muslim students, too many of whom still turn their faces eastward toward al-Azhar in Cairo for training and for knowledge of their cultural inheritance. Only a small proportion of the 5,000 students is Muslim, but the number is growing.

The university was closed for the Easter holidays during our visit in Algiers. We were unable to find by inquiry any positive evidence of Communist activity in it, either on the part of professors or students. One member of our consular staff thought there "probably" were Communist cells among the students, but he had been able to secure no evidence of their activity. He thought they were not "terribly active." One Communist professor was arrested last fall and fined for subversive writing. He was a member, however, of the staff of one of the lycées in Algiers.

A local Communist paper is published, the *Alger Republicain*, which circulates freely among professors and other intellectuals.

French Morocco

French Morocco, Spanish Morocco, and Tangier, with a total population of approximately 10,000,000, are nominally ruled by the Sultan of Morocco, who resides at Rabat in French Morocco. Actually, however, the control of the French section, which has 85 percent of the total population, is in the hands of France. The majority of the population are Berbers, among whom the desire

for independence is not strong. The militant Istiqlal, or Independence, party has its chief strength in the cities among the Arab population, chiefly in Casablanca and Meknès.

It was this party that was primarily responsible for the bloody riots of the first week in December 1952 at Casablanca, when an unknown number but at least fifty Arabs lost their lives and many times that number were injured. The French authorities cracked down promptly and vigorously. Some forty of the Istiqlal leaders were imprisoned in the southern Moroccan desert, and conditions were relatively quiet when we were in Morocco.

The Istiqlal party, however, was joined in the provocation of the Casablanca riots by Communist leaders from France. On December 11, twelve of the Communist leaders were deported to France where, according to a statement by General Augustin Guillaume, French Resident-General in Morocco, they were to be tried for their part in inciting the riots. Earlier, so we were informed, some fifty Communists had been rounded up and sent back to France although with no specific charges preferred against them. Communism is not popular in Morocco today!

American consular officials at Rabat (the capital) and Casablanca (the largest city) said that they had no knowledge of significant Communist influence in the schools of the protectorate. They thought it possible that some Communist cells were operating in some of the schools, but they had no positive evidence of them. A few teachers and some students were involved in the December riots.

There is no European university. At Fez is Qarawigin University, a Muslim institution somewhat like al-Azhar University in Cairo, which stands high in the Muslim world. Obviously it has little sympathy with Communist philosophy and ideas.

The French official attitude is so much more repressive in Morocco than in Tunisia that it would be impossible for school Communist cells to operate openly as they do in Tunis. *L'Humanité* is not permitted to circulate in French Morocco. Some Communist literature is coming in, but most of it is intercepted by the French postal authorities.

In Morocco the United States has no less than five large air

bases as further outposts of international security against Communist aggression. We had the opportunity to see four of these.

Spanish Morocco

There are no educational institutions of university level in Spanish Morocco. At the capital, Tetuán, there are primary and secondary schools for Moroccan youth, operated by the government, and a School of the Moorish Arts. There are also one or two church schools and a private one organized by French citizens for their own children. There are no American residents in Spanish Morocco and no American consulate at Tetuán. The American Legation at Tangier has responsibility for any American interests.

A member of the Legation staff who has visited the schools in Spanish Morocco and who endeavors to keep in touch with their activities stated to the writer that to the best of his knowledge there was no evidence of Communist activity or influence in any of the schools.

Tangier

The government of the international zone which includes the city of Tangier is unique in that it is in the hands of the eight heads of diplomatic or consular missions maintained by foreign governments in this extreme northwest corner of Africa. The eight countries are Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United States. Russia has the right to sit on the council but has never done so. Tangier is also unique in its school system, or rather lack of it. No schools of any type are operated by the international government. French, Spanish, Italian, and Jewish groups operate their own schools. There are several typical Koranic schools. Americans have organized a school primarily for Arab children, which now has an attendance of about 120 pupils of both sexes, including a few American children. There are only about 250 Americans in Tangier, half of them government officials. It is hoped that eventually the American school will grow into an American university for northwest

Africa, similar to American University in Beirut and American University in Cairo, but at present it is only of primary school level.

The State Department has aided it with an annual grant from funds available under the Smith-Mundt Act sufficient to cover the salary of the principal and one teacher. Favorable opinion of the school is shared not only by parents of children in Tangier but all over Morocco. "The school has aroused favorable interest out of all proportion to its size," said Mehdi Benounna, a high official of the Islah Nationalist party. "The Arabs regard it as genuine evidence of American concern with their problems." Jose Luiz Archer, the Portuguese who heads Tangier's international government, said of it: "The school has immense prestige value for America. It is ten times as effective as radio propaganda."¹

Three officials of the American Legation at Tangier with whom we talked said they had secured no overt evidence of Communist influence in any of these privately operated schools. Tangier also had its nationalist riots (in March 1952) in which one European and a dozen Arabs were killed and perhaps fifty injured. These were not primarily Communist-inspired but they may have been joined by some of the adult Communists in Tangier.

In general, with the exception of Tunisia, Communist influence in the schools of North Africa appears to be not a strong or threatening factor at the present time. There is considerable nationalist sentiment in these half-dozen territories, particularly in the cities from Tunis west to Casablanca, and Communists are not slow to exploit this sentiment when they can. But under the strong military régimes in most of these territories, the "troubled waters" of North Africa seem to be rather quiescent at present, and piscatorial prospects, particularly in the schools, not especially favorable.

¹ H. Negley, "Why They Love Us in Tangier," *Colliers*, May 16, 1953, pp. 68-73.

10. "It Was China Yesterday . . ."

IT WAS CHINA yesterday. There is no reason why it should not be Africa and India tomorrow," is the way Douglas Hyde, British ex-Communist, has expressed the conviction of the Communists in the Kremlin and the world over.¹ A chapter on China is therefore included in this volume to show what can—and does—happen to education, to educators, to schools when Communists take a country over. China is the only country considered in this volume that the author did not visit in person. While visiting Hong Kong, Macao, India, and Ceylon, however, he obtained important information on China from individuals who had recently been there, and from Chinese publications circulating in those countries. Hong Kong is without doubt the best listening post today for information from Red China. Here—and only here—the Western world may peep through the bamboo curtain. Peiping broadcasts are regularly monitored in Hong Kong. The Chinese vernacular press is received there, carefully scanned by news agencies and diplomatic missions, and translations made of significant articles and news stories—some of which furnished background information for this chapter. Considerable information was secured from files of the *New York Times* and the *London Times Educational Supplement* for the past four years and from other British and American publications. Particular credit should be given to Henry

¹ See page 14.

R. Lieberman, Hong Kong correspondent of the *New York Times*, and to his wife, Katherine Lieberman, for furnishing translations or abstracts of many important articles from recent newspapers, copies of late articles from local publications, and other materials. Other sources are indicated in footnotes.

“Root Out Western Culture”—this is the motto reported to be conspicuously displayed on a Chinese wall scroll hanging in the office of a prominent commissioner of education in one of the provinces of central China. This motto admirably summarizes the major objective of the various educational “reforms” of the past four years in Communist China—since the “liberation” of that vast country under Mao Tse-tung, which was formalized by the People’s Political Consultative Conference, October 1, 1949.

Chinese Communist leaders are far too intelligent, however, to leave an educational vacuum when Western influences have been “rooted out.” Their slogan today, according to a Hong Kong observer, is “Learn from the Soviet Union.” They have been rapidly substituting a Marxist-Leninist culture for the hated evidences of “American imperialism.” They are even rejecting their age-old Confucian wisdoms as “feudalistic” and “reactionary” and substituting for it the wisdom of Karl Marx.

They realize all too well that the present cold war in the world is basically a war for the minds of men. They are conducting it in China with studied ruthlessness, thoroughness, and cunning in the minds of helpless and impressionable children and youth who in a few short years will become the leaders of this immense and influential section of Asia.

Under the pertinent title “The Battle for the Mind of China,” the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (February 14, 1952), published in Hong Kong, says:

Those who have read the record of the foundation conference of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai thirty years ago can never forget Ch’en Tu-hsiu’s inaugural speech, or the vehemence and vituperation with which he consigned to a damned oblivion all the old cultural heritage and the age-old way of life—solid, enduring, subtle, original, and supremely native—which Confucius codified.

The major policies of the new régime are stated in a document known as the *Common Program*, which was adopted by the People’s Political Consultative Conference on September 29, 1949,

only two days before the formal establishment of the new government. It is declared in the *Common Program* that the new education must be in harmony with the spirit and aims of the "New Democracy." Article 41 states:

The culture and education of the People's Republic of China shall be New Democratic—national, scientific, and popular. The main task of the People's Government in cultural and educational work shall be the raising of the cultural level of the people, the training of personnel for national construction work, the eradication of feudal, compradore, and fascist ideology, and the development of the ideology of service to the people.

"Love for the fatherland and the people, love of labor, love of science, and taking care of public property" are specifically mentioned in Article 42 as the desired traits of national character to be developed by education. The study of science is stressed not only because of its value to industry, agriculture, and national defense, but also because it is important to apply the "scientific historical viewpoint to the study and interpretation of history, economics, politics, culture, and international affairs." (Article 45.) To ensure support of the new régime, "revolutionary political education shall be accorded to young intellectuals and old style intellectuals in a planned and systematic manner." (Article 47.)

That the new education is to be "national, scientific, and popular," as stated above in Article 41, sounds highly commendable—until we read the official definitions and explanation of those terms as given by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, soon after the *Common Program* was adopted. By "national," he says, is meant "thoroughly to oppose imperialistic aggression." To do this it is necessary to "uphold the integrity, independence, and liberation of the Chinese nation. The illusions about American imperialism, still entertained by some people, must be decisively eradicated. The harm done to the Chinese nation by so-called 'democratic individualism' must be exposed, and the base and blind psychology of worshipping Western, that is capitalist, culture must be opposed. . . . Internationalism must be fostered, especially with a view to unity with the Soviet Union and other People's Democracies."²

"Scientific" is defined as "popularizing the universal truths of

² J. C. C., "Trends in Chinese Education," *World Today*, November 1951, 480-88.

Marxism-Leninism and criticising idealism and superstitious ideas." The "natural science of U.S.S.R." must be popularized. And as to the meaning of "popular": "Education in the popular sense must be expressed in forms which the workers and peasants can appreciate and should not be separated from their lives and struggles."

In Canton in 1951 the teaching of classical Chinese was forbidden, and the use of Confucian books in the schools was banned because they contained "feudal and reactionary thoughts." The authorities were said to have decided that the classical style was "beyond the capacity of young minds." Instead they directed the schools to select textbooks from a list published by the Communist New China Book Company.³

The following quotations from the highest book in the series of supplementary readers, *Two Worlds*, are illustrative:

Is the world to be permanently divided into two? Will the two worlds one day merge into one? . . . Thirty years ago, before the appearance of the Soviet Union, there was only one world, the capitalistic state. . . . Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the workers of Russia overthrew the feudalistic Czar and the capitalists to establish the first socialistic state. . . .

Thus the capitalistic world is constantly shrinking, while the socialistic world is constantly expanding. When all the nations have joined the socialistic world, there will be no capitalistic world, and the world will become one—the socialistic world.

When will the two worlds become one? The answer to this question depends on our own effort. . . .

Dear readers, we are indeed fortunate because we live in the new socialistic world. We must, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, build up our nation to make the socialistic world stronger and stronger. We must, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, resolutely protect the peace of the world and not allow the capitalists of the capitalistic world to hurt our Big Brother, the Soviet Union.

³ The nature of these and other textbooks for elementary schools is admirably described, with copious extracts from them translated, in an article by T. H. Chen, "New China: New Textbooks" in *Current History*, December 1950, 321-27. In one series, topics of political significance are found in every book. Examples: *Book One*: "Holding red flags in hand, we dance to the Planting Song." *Book Two*: Mao is likened to the sun, but "he is warmer than the sun, brighter than the sun." *Book Four*: "Not until the Communist Party came, did we get land for our family." *Book Five*: Begins with a story of Mao humbly declining a reserved seat of honor in a Yenan theater and choosing instead to take an inconspicuous seat, and holding a little comrade in his lap.

In their effort to make China safe for communism, according to a Chinese scholar, C. D. Chang,⁴ Mao Tse-tung and his followers have launched an all-out attack on every free use of the mind which may be construed as implying a threat to the prevailing political dogma. This is based upon the following reasoning: We are building a Communistic order for a country of four hundred million people; we have urgent tasks before us in the material field; these cannot be fulfilled except under the stimulus of new and appropriate ideas, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism; before these ideas can be accepted, old and obsolete ideas must be rooted out; in order to root them out, the liberty of the human spirit in matters of the intellect must be put to an end. This logic, says Mr. Chang, is impeccable. It has been applied ruthlessly in the four years since it was thus enunciated. Freedom of thought has been almost obliterated.

As early as August 1950 the *New York Times*, using reports from the official New China News Agency (abbreviated hereafter as NCNA), stated that less than a year after "liberation" scores of professors and other writers were busy in Peiping remolding China's literary traditions in terms more suitable to Mao Tse-tung's "New Democracy." This vast overhaul job involved revising many texts, writing new introductions and interpretations, translating Soviet literature into Chinese, and providing Marxist-Leninist annotations for the Chinese classics. About one-third of the work had then been done, and it was expected that the balance would be completed in four months. Special emphasis was laid on eliminating the "decadent" influence of John Dewey's pragmatism in scholarly writing.⁵ By early 1953 it was reported that in the previous three years 3,686,000 copies of works by Marx, Lenin, Engels, and Stalin and 3,020,000 copies of Mao's selected works had been distributed.

Prior to August 1950 the Communists had organized as an important agency to promote basic indoctrination of youth the "New Democratic Youth Corps" later known as the "All-China Federation of Democratic Youth," for young people from fourteen

⁴ Chang, "Thought Control in China," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 30, 1950.

⁵ *New York Times*, Aug. 28, 1950, p. 4, col. 5.

to twenty-five years of age. In 1952 the Federation, which is a direct feeder for the Communist party, claimed a membership of over five million youth. The chairman of the Federation, Liao Ch'eng-chih, is a veteran Communist, born in Tokyo in 1908.

But to start even younger with basic indoctrination there is the "Young Pioneers," an outgrowth of the "Little Red Devils" of the Yen-an period. This organization in 1953 claimed a membership of more than seven million boys and girls aged nine to fifteen. From the first grade onward, Chinese youngsters, both in and out of school, are being taught continuously to idolize Mao Tse-tung, to love the Soviet Union, and to hate "American imperialism." The phrase "American imperialism" in fact is said to have become a commonly used unit phrase or single word all through China, with a connotation, fluency, and universality not unlike that of "damyan-kee" in the South following the War Between the States.

Frank Moreas, editor of the *Times of India*, was a member of an Indian cultural delegation which spent five weeks in China in 1952. In a dispatch from New Delhi (June 13, 1952) he is quoted as saying:

Like Communists the world over, China's Reds concentrate on "catching them young." Youth has pride of place in Mao Tse-tung's China and during my five weeks visit, not a day passed without the sight of processions of children led by "Young Pioneers" in red scarves, some of them with drums beating and flags flying. They are a familiar sight in the cities, towns, villages, and even in the remote hamlets where our occasions sometimes took us. We even found Communist indoctrination going on in nurseries in Shanghai with tots from two years of age and up.

Mr. Chang, quoted above, stated that students up to the time of his writing has been too busy with parades, demonstrations, rallies, meetings, and other propaganda activities to engage in any serious studies. All such activity, he says, is an important part of Communist training. The colorful and impressive mass meetings seem to give the youth a sense of grandeur and glory of revolution, the feeling that in unity there is strength. There is something glamorous about it all. The appeal to the adolescent and the immature is tremendous.

Mr. Chang says that most of the university students were

bourgeois in origin and middle-class in upbringing. In order to make them into genuine supporters of the new régime, something more than participation in mass meetings was needed. The most fundamental thing was to "straighten out the distorted thinking" of the youth. For this purpose the students were divided into small groups and each group was assigned a leader who was a Communist. There could be no liberal toleration of old ideas. The discussions were conducted with a religious fervor highly suggestive of revival meetings. There was public confession of sin. There was self-castigation and beating of breasts. Attendance was "voluntary" but everyone was expected to appear—and did. The chief precepts used as a basis for these meetings were three in number: (1) a Socialist régime is the most democratic and the highest stage of advanced political development, (2) the Soviet Union is the champion of world freedom and liberation and the best friend of China, and (3) America is the world's leading imperialistic power and dead set on enslaving mankind through such nefarious devices as the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact.

From what has been presented thus far it is easy to see that the *Far Eastern Economic Review* was not putting the case too strongly when in its issue for February 28, 1952, it said that the ideological remolding movement in China "is, in the final analysis, a program for the complete subversion of modern education as it has developed since the Republic and its replacement by a purely Marxist framework."

An important and authoritative statement regarding the aims and methods of this "complete subversion of modern education" was made by Liu Shih, head of the supervisory department of the Chinese Ministry of Education, in 1951. Pertinent extracts follow:

The new system of education takes into consideration the present conditions of China in the midst of vast revolutionary changes and opposition to foreign aggression and also of the present needs of the people engaged in great constructive tasks. . . .

First of all, it is laid down in particular that primary education is made available to youths and adults as well as children. The short-term primary schools for workers and peasants, spare-time schools, and literacy classes are designed for this purpose. Similarly secondary education is offered in worker and peasant middle schools and more advanced spare-time schools, as well as in the regular middle schools and

special vocational middle schools. These two types of schools were absent from the school system of old China and of all capitalist countries. . . .

The central and local people's governments in China are making all necessary preparations to carry through this great reform in the educational system. The Ministry of Education of the Central People's Government is training teaching staffs on a large scale and is taking steps to bring uniformity into educational plans, teaching methods, and textbooks. By 1957 there will be available no less than one million primary-school teachers and school facilities for 80 percent of the children of school age. . . . The new, democratic educational system of China has thus been launched.⁶

Much of this sounds excellent and is highly commendable as far as structure and added opportunity for education are concerned. Equal extension of educational opportunity would be highly beneficial among many other people of Asia and Africa where very limited facilities have existed in the past. But we have learned already to read between the lines and look for Communist interpretations of apparently commendable terms used in such documents. What is to be the nature of the instruction in these new and extended types of schools? Let Mr. Liu himself go on to characterize them:

The role especially assigned to the political training schools by the new educational system is to guarantee that both young and old intellectuals will have an equal chance to acquire a revolutionary education. On October 23, 1951, Chairman Mao Tse-tung emphatically pointed out at the P.P.C.C.⁷ National Committee session that "Ideological remolding, first of all, of the different types of intellectuals is one of the most important conditions for completing our democratic reforms in various fields and for the gradual industrialization of our country. . . ."

This kind of revolutionary political-study movement has already gone on for two years. During the past year in particular it has educated hundreds of millions of the people of China, raised the people's political consciousness, and roused their patriotism to an unprecedentedly high degree through the three great movements, namely, the movement of resisting American aggression and aiding Korea, the land reform, and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. . . .

⁶ From *People's China*, an official English-language paper published in Peiping, Dec. 1, 1951. Reprinted in *School and Society*, March 29, 1952, pp. 193-96.

⁷ People's Political Consultative Conference. This was the congress that established the Chinese People's Republic on October 1, 1949.

Such schools are in great demand by all the progressive young intellectuals as well as the old intellectuals in China today. They are the newest type of schools in the world brought into being by the people's revolution. . . . *Needless to say, Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung will be studied not only in such institutions, but in all other schools as well.*

The italics in the last sentence are not in the original. Detailed comment is unnecessary! In an earlier issue of the same *People's China* (October 1, 1951) Mr. Liu had written, "To fulfil these tasks, one million new people's teachers are being recruited and trained so that eventually the cultural army of people's teachers will be over two million strong."

Let us turn our attention more specifically to the universities and other institutions for training leaders for this "New China" of four hundred million people. When the Communists took over in 1949, there were 215 institutions of higher education in China with an enrollment of approximately 130,000 students. Eighty of these were privately controlled, of which about a score were operated under American or European missionary or other philanthropic influence.⁸ Many of these, such as Yenching University and the Peiping Union Medical College at Peiping; Aurora University and St. John's University at Shanghai; and Lingnan University at Canton, have been influential agencies in the past quarter-century in establishing Western standards of university education in China. Thirteen of them (Protestant) have been operated under the auspices of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, whose headquarters are in New York.

It is fully understandable that the People's Government early selected the universities, which have been influential in training Chinese leaders, for reorganization and that they showed special animosity to those under American influence.

Some features of general university reorganization and efforts to change ideology of both students and professors will be described first; then some special attention paid to the institutions under foreign sponsorship.

Even during the Nationalist régime the Communists had power-

⁸ M. M. Chambers (ed.), *Universities of the World Outside U.S.A.* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1950), pp. 222-82.

ful cells in most of the Chinese universities, and both professors and students were worked on in a scientific way by propagandists. The Communists also had in the main universities a certain number of "professional students" who devoted almost their entire time to publishing Communist propaganda, selling Communist books, and recruiting the brightest and best students. A "professional student" was one who had already graduated from some university and who under party orders enrolled in another for the specific purpose of advancing communism there. He came as a student, but he did no studying. He was interested only in propagandizing and proselytizing.

Six months before "liberation," according to the newspaper *Ta Kung Pao* (quoted in the *New York Times*, June 2, 1949, page 14), the new student government group at St. John's University, an institution under Protestant Episcopal auspices, mapped out a "reform" program to end twenty years of "slavery education." It also planned to "enlighten others to understand clearly the cultural exploitation of the American imperialists."

But this was only preliminary to the real "reforms" that followed "liberation." One of the first things the Communists did when they took over the country was to "democratize" the universities. The real power of administration was placed in the hands of a University council consisting of representatives of the faculty, the students, and the laborers (servants, janitors, gardeners, and menial workers). The student members were in the majority and were far and away the most influential. They virtually ran the university. This was partly due to distrust of the administrative officers and teaching staffs who in the view of the Communist leaders were "reactionaries" and whose thoughts might be dangerous. They needed to be properly indoctrinated before they could be trusted. The students, especially members of the powerful New Democratic Youth Corps, frequently criticized their professors as "backward" either in their classrooms or in letters tacked on campus bulletin boards.

Leonard Constantine, who got away from China in 1950, had taught history for almost twenty years at missionary-sponsored Huachang University at Wuchang. He said:

After liberation schools and universities were first ordered to carry on

as usual, but in practice this proved impossible. The wine of liberation went to the students' heads. For a time they were completely out of hand. Liberation for them meant no work, no examinations, freedom from all discipline, and control of university administration. . . . The first step in reforming old universities was to order them to admit a certain percentage of workers and soldiers even tho these failed to pass the entrance examinations.⁹

All university students were required to master the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Nine hours a week were allotted for "political education." History, geography, even literature and art were taught in the light of this philosophy. In science it was emphasized that there was no such thing as pure science—only capitalist science and proletarian science.

Reorganization of the universities and "ideological remolding" of their staffs and students, although beginning at the time of liberation, did not become really drastic, however, until 1952 when the Communists sponsored an intensive period of "criticism and self-criticism" aimed at eliminating the Western approach and substituting for it the Soviet approach.

Ample preparation was made for these reforms. Decisions for the readjustment were made early in the spring, and by the end of June "ideological mobilization" began. A mobilization report was made by Ch'ien Chün-jui, Vice-Minister of Education, before a thousand teachers in higher institutions in Peiping and Tientsin concerning reorientation of schools and courses, pedagogical and curricular reforms, and necessary personnel "readjustments." In consequence of these reforms, said the official NCNA: "... many teachers became aware of the superiority of the Soviet pedagogical plans and there was aroused a wave of enthusiasm for the study of Soviet advanced experience."¹⁰ Professors at Tsinghua and Peking Universities organized Russian classes during the summer recess in which short-cut methods for learning the Russian language were evolved. Perhaps it is significant of the difficulties experienced in achieving complete ideological reform that from Tsinghua and Peking Universities "some 130 professors and instructors have

⁹ Constantine, "Culture in Red China Today," *New Republic*, Jan. 29, 1951, pp. 11-13.

¹⁰ "Academic Reorganization of Higher Institutions Completed," *Ta Kung Pao* (Hong Kong), Sept. 26, 1952.

been transferred to teach in other institutions outside of Peiping."

In a September report, the NCNA stated that "the large-scale reorganization of educational institutions in the nation during 1952 has been basically completed. Over-all adjustments have been made in the two administrative areas of North China and East China which were made to serve as key points of reform." It reports that in North China reorganization was focused on Peiping and Tientsin where forty-one institutions of higher education were to be maintained after the reform, while in East China reforms centered in Shanghai and Nanking where fifty-four institutions were to be maintained. All American-sponsored institutions were taken over with names changed, combined with other institutions, or abolished. Some details concerning these will be given later.

Li Ta is president of Hunan University at Changsha. He was one of the dozen or so persons who attended the first congress of the Chinese Communist party in Shanghai in 1921 and was made the first chairman of its Propaganda Department. He is one of the leading Communists among the intellectuals of China and appears to speak with an authority and a degree of sureness shown by no other university president in Communist China. In initiating the concentrated drive for "reform" of the universities, he wrote a long article in the Hankow *Ch'ang Chiang Jih Pao* for March 24, 1952. Significant extracts from a translation of this authoritative article follow:

Institutions of higher learning are training grounds for advanced construction of cadres with high political awakening and modern scientific techniques; the highest guiding educational principle for these institutions is Marxism-Leninism and Maoism; their duty is to enforce educational policy stipulated in the Common Program. In these institutions the existence of the bourgeois mentality cannot be allowed. The "3-anti"¹¹ campaign in institutions of higher learning is not only a class struggle in political and economic fields, but is also an ideological class struggle. It aims not only at crushing the attacks of the bourgeois class, but also at eliminating the bourgeois mentality. Without doubt the bourgeois mentality exists in a serious degree among educational workers in institutions of higher learning. . . . Concrete expressions of this mentality may be seen in the following points.

Isolation of Theory from Practice.—Teachers of natural sciences

¹¹ Anti-corruption, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucracy.

know only how to teach their students according to foreign textbooks. . . . Teachers of social sciences mostly cannot apply Marxism-Leninism and Maoism in their studies of Chinese historical and social realities; they continue to teach bourgeois social sciences to the students. . . . There are many teachers of literary subjects who desire no progress, but teach their students according to notes prepared many years ago. Some of them even say that of all the novels in the world, only English novels are worth reading. Teachers of drama cite nothing but European cases and declare that Chinese ones are not up to standard. . . .

Pro-American Outlook.—Teachers who have returned from America mostly admired America and were pro-American in feeling. After the great Resist-America, Aid-Korea movement, on the surface they have reduced their pro-American outlook, but are still incapable of fostering a hatred for America.

Rejection of Fundamental Reform.—When Chairman Mao talked about ideological reform for the intelligentsia, he referred to "steady progress." Many professors know only how to be "steady" and make little "progress." In some cases they are "steady" in staying where they were, "postponing the day of reform." When talking about reforming education work in a revolutionary spirit and with revolutionary methods, they are completely at a loss. They cling to their old methods.

Neglect of Students' Political Study.—At present, institutions of higher learning have allocated nine hours per week as political study periods. Many professors, however, not only give no encouragement to the student in their political studies, but even obstruct them. . . .

If such bourgeois mentality is not completely eliminated from among educational workers, if they do not truly rear a proletarian mentality, they will never qualify for the duties of people's professors and will never be able to train the new cadres required by the new country. . . .

The existence of grave bourgeois mentalities must be thoroughly removed from institutions of higher learning, and this is the time to do it. . . . Many presidents, deans of colleges, department heads, professors, lecturers, and assistants have made self-criticisms in the presence of the masses, criticising their own bureaucracy, factionalism, departmentalism, selfish conduct, or pro-American sentiments.

Those who made thorough and profound criticisms were accepted by the masses, while those who did not were asked to make two or three self-criticisms over. Some professors had to criticise themselves five times. Under the slogan of "Eliminating the Influence of American Imperialist Cultural Aggression," professors of Yenching University all conducted self-criticisms through which to clean themselves of dirt and poison. . . . It is only thus that we can establish a proletarian mentality—the leadership of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts.

During March and April 1952 a group of articles appeared in the Chinese press describing in considerable detail the brain-washing procedure in the principal universities. They are too long for reproduction here, but the brief extracts from six of them concerning Yenching, Tsinghua, Nankai, and Northwest Universities, reproduced in the paragraphs which follow, sample their tenor. The articles in their entirety illuminate this phase of ideological reform. They abound with such phrases as "bourgeois mentality," "ideological reform," "American imperialism," "decadent American way of life," "American cultural aggression," "corrupt ideology of the bourgeois class," "degenerate ideology," "pro-America and worship-America thoughts," and "corrosion of bourgeois ideas." They condemn American influence in the universities, particularly in such an institution as Yenching University, for everything from espionage and harboring of American secret agents to the sending of wrist watches to America for repairs and teaching students to make love in a foreign language.

What has been the "corrosive influence" of those professors "trained with the American bourgeois concept?" In Tientsin it was reported that "In the pure, clean hearts of our youth, what a tremendous amount of poison and seeds of crime they have sown! They have frustrated the sincere hope and proved to be unworthy of the respect of the broad masses of the fatherland."¹²

Or consider this frank confession by the head of the mathematics department of Tsinghua University, who was trained for his position by graduate study in the United States.

While in the past I used to consider the six years I spent studying in America as my golden age, now I see this as the darkest and most dangerous period. When in America I became virtually steeped in a tub of poison, and my very pores were permeated with the venom to enable me to return and in turn to contaminate the youth of China.¹³

The method of reform? One method for reform of professors

¹² "Ugly Pro-American Concepts of Teachers in Tientsin's Institutions of Higher Education Bared in Ideological Reform Movement," *Ta Kung Pao* (Shanghai), March 31, 1952.

¹³ "3-Anti Movement in Tsinghua University Enters New Stage To Oppose Bourgeois Ideology," New China News Agency (Peiping), March 16, 1952. The "3-anti" movement has already been explained as referring to anti-waste, anti-corruption, and anti-bureaucracy.

reported at Nankai University may be taken as typical:

The students accordingly organized themselves into groups to interview those teachers [who had not fully realized "the necessity to cleanse themselves"], mobilize them, hold heart-to-heart talks with them, help them to do away with their doubts, and sincerely try to assist them in their ideological reform.¹⁴

Or at Northwest University where it was reported:

The students at Northwest University organized themselves into mutual-aid groups with each group assigned to offer help to one professor. . . . The students . . . solemnly criticised the ideological mistakes of the teacher. . . . In individual cases, some teachers even went so far as to oppose the campaign. The students have subjected these teachers to severe criticism.¹⁵

The results of the process? The result as enthusiastically reported at Tsinghua University is characteristic:

The Tsinghua of today has acquired a completely new set of features. . . . The pernicious banner under which Tsinghua had openly dealt in the degenerate ideology of the bourgeois class has been supplanted to make way for the glorious banner of Mao Tse-tung under which the entire body of the faculty and staff members, students, workers, and employees are presently marching victoriously forward.¹⁶

While at Yenching University, especially hated on account of its American foundation, we find that:

. . . the university has thoroughly washed off the humiliation of the past thirty-odd years and has wiped out all the ugly phenomena which have existed previously. All plots of the United States have been made in vain.¹⁷

A professor from Nankai University sums up his present happy situation. He says that formerly he had fallen "into the pit of despondency and despair." But after discarding his "filthy ideological burden of the bourgeois conception," he could say joy-

¹⁴ "The Struggle against Bourgeois Ideology Waged by the Teachers and Students of Nankai University," *Ta Kung Pao* (Shanghai), March 29, 1952.

¹⁵ "Criticism of Decadent Bourgeois Ideology Developed among Professors of the Northwest," *Jen Min Jih Pao* (Peiping), April 19, 1952.

¹⁶ Ch'en Hsiao-feng, "Eradicating Bourgeois Thoughts from Tsinghua University," *Ta Kung Pao* (Shanghai), March 27, 1952.

¹⁷ Hsiao Feng, "What Did the United States Open Yenching University For?" Dispatch from Peiping in *Ta Kung Pao* (Hong Kong), April 22, 1952.

ously "Whereas I never was able to smile formerly, now I laugh."¹⁸

By the end of 1952 the Communist government had come to place such great importance on the potential value of the universities and other higher educational institutions of the nation, particularly in the technical and industrial field, that it authorized the establishment of a separate Ministry of Higher Education, coordinate with the existing Ministry of Education.

The NCNA in a Peiping dispatch (December 27, 1952) quoted Hsi Chung-hsün, vice-chairman of the Central Committee on Cultural and Educational Affairs, as of the opinion that the former educational organization had become unable to cope with the situation adequately, and that it had thus become necessary to establish two ministries to take care of the nation's growing educational enterprises.

At the inauguration ceremonies which took place at the capital December 25, according to the same news agency, the new Minister of Higher Education, Ma Hsü-lun said in his inaugural address: "It is first of all necessary to complete the establishment of higher institutions and secondary technical schools. Our main work lies in the thorough reform of industrial schools for the quick and effective training of large numbers of industrial construction cadres."

Six months later, according to a Peiping dispatch from the same agency (July 7, 1953), Minister Ma announced plans, primarily on the basis of needs for new state construction, to enroll 70,000 new students in the higher educational institutions of the country. Special attention would be given, he said, to the "political quality, health condition, and cultural level" of the students. One is tempted to wonder whether these three qualifications are stated in the Minister's concept of their relative order of importance.

Article I of the 1951 National Educational Policy of the Chinese Communist régime, according to Dr. Daniel Hong Lew, a former professor in a university in Peiping, states as its main objective: "Full expansion of anti-American aid-Korea patriotic education." All professors, students, religious leaders, and artistic talent were mobilized with Communist thoroughness and efficiency to fan up

¹⁸ "The Struggle against Bourgeois Ideology Waged by the Teachers and Students of Nankai University," *Ta Kung Pao* (Shanghai), March 29, 1952.

hatred against the United States and to promote enthusiasm for Soviet culture.

Some further information may be given regarding the necessary brain-washing process of university professors. Dr. Lew's firsthand testimony is significant. He says:

I personally witnessed some of the cunning techniques used in Communist China in the mental subjugation of my friends there, including fellow faculty members of the university in Peiping where I was teaching, and of my students. But while my own brain remained "unwashed," I lived under the same subtle threat long enough to comprehend its maliciousness. Only by the best of good fortune did I manage to escape from a similar fate and to leave that part of China.

"Brain-washing" is the systematic repetition of basic lies to distort the minds of normally sensible people in an environment which they are powerless to resist. The brain-washing process is a total one. It applies to education, to business, to labor, to culture and art, to all aspects of society.¹⁹

Dr. Chang, already quoted, says that the most pitiable class of people in China are the professors. Unlike the students who are still young and pliable, the professors are men of settled habits and fixed convictions. Most of them have had Western education. The Communists are highly efficient in their control. There is no way to dodge it, to evade it, to charm it out of existence, and least of all to oppose it. The Communist policy toward the academic intellectual, he says, seems to be, first, to deal a mortal blow to his intellectual pride, and, second, to extirpate Western influence, especially American influence, in Chinese education. "It is pathetic and slightly ridiculous," says Dr. Chang, "to watch middle-aged and learned professors solemnly listening to lectures on Marxism or being criticised and talked down by a hobbledohoy who, only a short time ago, was not even fit to hold a candle to them."²⁰

Late in 1951 the Hong Kong correspondent of the *New York Times* sent a dispatch based upon statements just made by the People's Political Consultative Conference, the body which technically embodies the "people's sovereignty" in Red China. A quotation from this dispatch follows:

¹⁹ Lew, "Brain-Washing in Stalinist China," *Vital Speeches*, June 1, 1952, pp. 497-501.

²⁰ C. D. Chang, "Thought Control in China," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 30, 1950.

Communists today disclosed an intensified "brain-washing" campaign among Chinese educated in Western countries. Professors are required to take a four-month concentrated course in "political learning" including lectures, reading documents, and individual "criticism and self-criticism," to remove all remaining "residual conceptions of the European and American bourgeois class." Failure to achieve radical re-orientation of such concepts and failure to implement Marxism-Leninism are basic factors responsible for the slow progress in higher education.²¹

Further details of this "concentrated course in political learning" are given in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

The process of recantation was laid down in careful stages. First, professors had to study Chou En-lai's guide to ideological reform, then study the Party viewpoint of the party leader Feng Chen on the three major movements of the time so as to expose reactionary thought. As the third stage they had to become acquainted with the treatise on the "History of the Chinese Communist Party," and with Chen Po-ta's essay proclaiming that "Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution is the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese revolution." In the fourth stage the professors are required to study Li Fu-chun's report on economic reconstruction and the training of cadres so as to square education with needs. The fifth stage called for the formulation of concrete measures for reform in higher education.²²

The Chinese Communist leaders are most eager to have the help of the intellectuals, but only after they have undergone the strenuous process of mind-cleansing or brain-washing described above. Dr. Theodore H. Chen, a Chinese scholar, head of the department of Asiatic studies at the University of Southern California and formerly president of Fukien Christian University at Foochow has this to say concerning the professors:

They subject themselves to thought reform and to the inescapable ideological indoctrination, but they feel all the more insecure when they see that even after genuine efforts to fall in line with the new régime many of their colleagues still cannot escape the eventual fate of purge and chastisement. Humiliated and discouraged, most of the intellectuals see no alternative but to endure the misery and agony of

²¹ *New York Times*, Oct. 25, 1951, p. 4.

²² *Far Eastern Economic Review*, May 15, 1952.

regimented learning. A small minority, however, have managed to get away from the mainland.²³

Thus the existing plight of China's intellectual class, particularly of her university professors, is one of the tragedies of our time. Through all the chances and changes of China's long history, the literati have tried to maintain their integrity. Tradition taught them to speak boldly even to emperors. Now all is changed. Most of the professors in the country have been forced to submit to the shameless brain-washing described above. Those who have not succumbed to this humiliating process, often at the hands of students and common campus laborers, have either been "liquidated" or have been fortunate enough to escape from the country, particularly to Hong Kong, where they may maintain their intellectual integrity even though they may starve in doing so.

The party leaders were a little hesitant about openly attacking the eminent scholar, Dr. Hu Shih, who had accomplished the literary revolution of China when the top Communists were student leaders or library clerks. Dr. Hu was formerly president of Peking National University and one-time Chinese Ambassador to the United States. So the Communists used the technique they have often adopted and made Dr. Hu's son, Hu Szu-tu, the instrument and the mouthpiece of their venom. He was given a course of reindoctrination in the School of Political Science of the North China Revolutionary University. The son, in a country where filial respect has always been a cardinal virtue, denounced his father. The *New York Times* (September 23, 1950, page 4) says that the left-wing *Ta Kung Pao* (Hong Kong) published the second part of an essay by Hu Szu-tu "summing up my thought." This was a denunciation of his father as "a faithful officer of the reactionaries and an enemy of the people." His statement continued, "Until he returns to the embrace of the people, he will always be the people's enemy and also my own enemy." The son also stated that the father had carried out "reactionary activities" while he was president of Peking National University.

²³ Theodore Hsi-en Chen, "Helping the Chinese Intellectuals Help Themselves," *Educational Record*, January 1953, pp. 26-27.

Dr. Hu Shih was in America when his son's denunciation of him was published. In New York he said that the news was interesting but that he was not greatly disturbed by it. "I hope my friends will not be disturbed by it either. You see my son was left behind in China, and his present statement bears on a point which I have been emphasizing recently—that in the Communist countries there is no freedom of silence. We know, of course, that there is no freedom of speech. But few people realize that there is no freedom of silence either. Residents of a Communist state are required to make positive statements of belief and loyalty."

Commenting editorially on Dr. Hu's case, the *New York Times* said (September 24, 1950, Sec. IV, p. 10):

In a case such as this the denial of "freedom of silence" leads to such an outrageous absurdity that all of us must be obliged to feel sorry, not for Dr. Hu Shih, but for the young man who has been forced into statements that are so false as to be ludicrous.

Dr. Hu Shih's work in modernizing the use of the Chinese language has often been cited as one of the finest contributions to contemporary scholarship. . . . To call such a man "reactionary" is to rob language of any relationship to meaning. . . .

This distinguished and lovable Chinese scholar gains even more stature by the nature of the Communist attack. As a truly independent person and as a great and honorable man, he has the right to be proud of their enmity.

The same technique was employed against another group of scholars who stemmed from the late Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, the foremost scholar-reformer before the First World War. Again they chose a son to scorn the father. Dr. Liang Ssu-ch'eng, now a noted architect, accused his father, dead now for twenty years, of having been a reactionary. He confessed that he himself had once been a "silly admirer" of his father. The son of this famous scholar was himself educated at Pennsylvania and was at one time a lecturer at Yale.

A considerable number of specialized universities and schools, some of them of only a temporary nature, have been reported. The *New York Times* in two dispatches from Hong Kong in October 1950 based on NCNA data, and the London *Times Educational Supplement* give some information concerning the Chinese People's University for which formal opening exercises were held

at Peiping, October 3, 1950.²⁴ It was set up by a special Cabinet decree issued in February 1950 to produce the "new type of intellectuals" with their roots in the peasantry and proletariat. The vice-chancellor, Wu Tu-chang, said its aim was "to inculcate the teachings of Marx, Lenin, and Mao," to "raise the political consciousness of the students," and to furnish experts "capable of controlling the most modern scientific achievements." It was thus designed to produce an elite corps of party technicians. The university was further described as based upon "the experience of the Soviet Union and the actual requirements of China." The main course was to cover three or four years. The Russian language is taught in all courses, but no other foreign languages are taught except in the last two years of the four-year course in diplomacy when English, French, and German are offered. Initial enrollment was 3,000 students of whom 51 percent consisted of political workers with from three to ten years of "revolutionary experience," 40 percent were "reindoctrinated intellectuals" who had passed "special political courses," and 9 percent were "model industrial workers." A total of 35 Soviet professors were appointed on the staff of the new university. According to the NCNA their special responsibility was to instruct 250 advanced students and more than 200 teachers in Soviet technical and pedagogical techniques.

Political workers with inadequate education also formed the nucleus of eighteen experimental "worker-peasant middle schools" established by the government. This type of student, who learned his politics in the Red army, was undoubtedly regarded as a safer and more effective asset than the young middle-class intellectuals.

Liu Shih of the Ministry of Education, already quoted, wrote in late 1951 to commemorate the second anniversary of liberation:

To re-educate the old type of intellectuals five large revolutionary colleges have been established. Several hundreds of thousands have already received education in these colleges. . . . To these accomplishments should be added the fact that intellectuals are studying enthusiastically and remolding their ideology. During the first year after liberation—among educational workers alone—more than 400,000 persons participated in the study of *The History of Social Development*, Mao

²⁴ *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1950, p. 49; Oct. 8, 1950, p. 15. *Times Educational Supplement* (London), June 22, 1951, p. 503.

Tse-tung's *New Democracy*, and other important works on the Chinese revolution. At present, educational cadres all over the country, like cadres in the Communist party, in the government, in the army, and in people's organizations, study for two hours each day. Subjects include government policies, political theory, and vocational studies. The Chinese intellectuals throughout the nation are today studying Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung. The teachers of China have set a glorious goal for themselves: "The people's teachers should be good Marxists as well as good teachers."²⁵

Dr. Lew describes a special type of "colleges" in remote districts. He says:

In far off places, such as Chahar in the North and Sinkiang in the West, there are "People's New Life Labor Schools," where inept students, and virtually everyone is a student of the new type of Stalinist existence, are led to practice what they are being taught. There two-thirds of their time is devoted to hard labor, one-third to classroom activity, group discussion, and self-criticism. By such labor new roads are being built, new railways constructed, new mines opened. They do not call them forced labor camps; they are dubbed "colleges."²⁶

Some further information may be given concerning the Christian universities in China, particularly the thirteen Protestant ones formerly under the sponsorship of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China, and the three institutions under the Roman Catholic Church. These universities had held an important and honorable place in Chinese life for many years. Many of their staff were missionary educators who had given a lifetime of service to the Chinese field. Many others were Chinese scholars who had received most if not all of their advanced training in Europe or America. Their standards were high and their influence salutary.

Almost from the first these universities were the objects of attack by the Communists and today they have all been put out of existence and their plants taken over by the government for schools or for other purposes. At first there was some hope that they might be allowed to continue to exist, even if in somewhat modified form. Thus the *London Times Educational Supplement* reported in December 1950, more than a year after the Communist régime began, that "today they are, with the approval of the new Government,

²⁵ Liu Shih, *People's China*, Oct. 1, 1951.

²⁶ Lew, *op. cit.*

carrying on their usual academic and religious programs."²⁷ But signs of trouble were already appearing, as indicated by the statement in the same issue that the ten thousand students enrolled in them "in common with all students in the country, are required by the government to take courses in dialectical materialism."

As a matter of fact the big push against Christian institutions actually began in that same month of December 1950. On December 29 the State Administrative Council at Peiping promulgated measures "to facilitate the control of foreign-subsidized or foreign-operated cultural-educational organizations and religious bodies." These measures were very comprehensive, including within their scope universities, research institutes, hospitals and other medical organizations, religious institutions, orphanages, old people's homes, nurseries, other social relief organizations, newspapers, printing houses, publishing societies, bookstores, libraries, and other cultural enterprises. This decree was more than one of "control." It was a virtual announcement of intention to take over all American-subsidized cultural and medical organizations. All such organizations were ordered not to accept any further foreign subsidies or contributions.

This decree was followed by one of July 24, 1951, which ordered all American church missions that had been financing church, educational, cultural, or charity work to "suspend their activities immediately." These new regulations, representing the final blow to all phases of American missionary work in China, were signed by the premier himself, Chou En-lai. Some of the universities, however, continued to exist as separate entities with their old names, but with no American support, for a year longer.

Thus at the close of the academic year 1951-52 there were in fact no longer any *Christian* colleges or universities in existence although it was not until September 26, that the NCNA reported that "large-scale reorganization of higher educational institutions in the nation during 1952 has been accomplished." All institutions formerly under foreign influence were transferred in their entirety to national control with change of name or they suffered dissolution or absorption by other institutions. We have reported in chap-

²⁷ *Times Educational Supplement* (London), Dec. 22, 1950, p. 973.

ter 3 the organization of two new Chinese Christian colleges in Hong Kong and Formosa.

Even as early as October 1950, however, Fu Jen University at Peiping, operated for twenty-six years by the Roman Catholic Church, was taken over by the Communist authorities. This was the first missionary university to be so taken. The Peiping radio in an official announcement October 13 said it had been seized because "certain Catholic professors have been trying to manipulate the administration of the institution." Ma Hsü-lun, then Communist Minister of Education, declared it was "against international practice for foreigners or their organizations to operate schools in China." He said that Communist authorities had been "temporarily tolerating foreign-sponsored schools because of their long existence. But unfortunately foreigners in Fu Jen University tried to interfere with our educational administrative rights." Therefore, he said, "the government decided to take over to protect the people's rights."²⁸

The Communist radio said January 21, 1951, that the government had taken over Peiping Union Medical College, the foremost medical school in China, which was endowed by the Rockefeller Foundation and had been operated under its auspices since 1915.

On February 13 the Communist radio announced that the government had taken over Yenching University, sponsored for thirty-two years by the United Board for Christian Colleges in China. The broadcast stated that the university had been formally abolished and the plant and faculties merged with those of the government Tsinghua and Peking National Universities. The Minister of Education, Ma Hsü-lun, was quoted as expressing his "belief in the ability of the students and staff to clear away the influence of American imperialist culture."

At Yenching University, which had been singled out by the Communists as a special target for their vicious and virulent campaign against "American imperialism," it was reported a month later that "the United States with full ambition of aggression has set in Yenching a trap to poison the thoughts of Chinese youth," but that "in utter indignation, the workers and employees sub-

²⁸ *New York Times*, Oct. 14, 1950, p. 4.

jected the leading administrative authorities of the university to rigorous criticism," as a result of which "a poignant ideological struggle was developed among the broad masses of the teachers, students, workers, and employees."²⁹

In the beginning of the great purge of university professors in the fall of 1951 the president and two of the leading professors of Yenching University were, not unnaturally, chosen as the vanguard of the victims. They were Dr. Lu Chih-wei, the president, age fifty-eight, a graduate of the University of Chicago; Dr. Chang Tung-sun, age sixty-six, a graduate of Tokyo University, and one of China's leading philosophers; and Dr. Chao Tse-ch'en, age sixty-four, head of the Yenching School of Religion, a graduate of Vanderbilt University and former president of the World Council of Churches. According to a former Yenching professor who managed to reach Hong Kong in May 1952, all three were removed from the campus by the authorities in the middle of March when their "confessions" failed to measure up to the rigid requirements of the "ideological remolding movement." In February, President Lu had participated in a series of "studies" designed to "perfect the thoughts of students and staff," and had apparently embraced Mao's "new democracy" and praised it in the early days. Dr. Chang had been appointed to the Central People's Government Council. Later, however, it was decided that the thinking of these three leaders "was not yet in order." Among those to denounce President Lu was his own daughter. In May therefore Dr. Lu was "taken away" after spending three days in analyzing his thoughts and undergoing criticism before overflowing crowds of students and faculty members in the university auditorium. All three educators were denounced by students and by some of their colleagues for vestigial pro-Western feelings and lack of thoroughness in disavowing their past "faults." The long list of faults cited against them included lack of outright hostility toward the United States and maintenance of contacts with American and other foreign ex-professors who were then out of the country.³⁰

A correspondent of the London *Times Educational Supplement* commented:

²⁹ "Ideological Struggle Reaches New High in Yenching University," *Chin Pu Jih Pao* (Tientsin), March 17, 1952.

³⁰ *New York Times*, May 26, 1952, p. 2.

The importance of this case lies not merely in the national eminence of those involved but in the fact that it is the first time that any of the large class of Western-trained intellectuals who have supported the present government and appear to have made a serious and sincere effort to work with it, have been judged as lacking in ideological fervor.³¹

A British educator, early in 1954, thus summarized the conditions of Chinese university professors today: "The Chinese university teacher will continue to be deprived of all real freedom of thought or expression; he will be compelled to teach what he at heart knows to be false; and he will not be permitted even silent disapproval. Moreover, unless some marked changes take place, he will have the minimum of contact with the outside world, save only the Soviet Union. This spells ill for himself, for China, and for the world."³²

The *Shanghai Liberation Daily* (August 6, 1952) in an article about institutions in Shanghai formerly under Christian control, said:

The president of Aurora University [Jesuit], the chairman of St. John's University's [Episcopal] school of administration committee, and the chairman of Shanghai University's [Baptist] school administration committee all voiced their enthusiasm that the reorganization will secure a thoroughly new life for the ex-missionary universities. Over a year ago these three universities were freed from the yoke of imperialism, but due to the slave education which imperialism has persistently practiced, they have not yet been able to train very well the desired personnel for the service of the people, while the influence of imperialist ideology has not yet been thoroughly uprooted. After the 3-anti movement, the ideological reform, and the over-all reorganization this time, coupled with the abolition of the insulting names of St. John's and Aurora universities, the institutions will have removed their historical stain and truly become part of the people's educational enterprise. After the ideological reform, the entire faculty, students, staff members, and workers have acquired a better understanding and are rendering an enthusiastic support to the reorganization which is to be effected.

A Roman Catholic priest and teacher told in Hong Kong of the four-hour "people's trial" to which he and two of his Chinese colleagues were subjected. It followed a propaganda meeting at

³¹ *Times Educational Supplement* (London), May 2, 1952, p. 369.

³² F. C. Jones, "Chinese Universities under the Harrow," *Universities Review*, February 1954, pp. 73-77.

which they were beaten and insulted by their students, then dragged through the streets. Police refused appeals for protection. After the "trial" the two Chinese teachers were executed and the priest was expelled from the country.³³

At lower than the university level, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* gives an interesting report of self-criticism by a native Chinese woman teacher:

A typical example of the type of self-criticism is that of a married woman teacher with a family, who confessed that she continually thought of herself and her own problems, took no interest in the war in Korea save to worry about the safety of her husband, who as a railway engineer might be sent there. She was indifferent to the suppression of counter-revolutionaries and actually pitied the parents and wives of two hundred of them whom she saw executed. How would their dependents be able to solve their problems of livelihood? Even in land reform she had wrong thoughts, feeling that the fight against the landlords was conducted too cruelly and the measures were too hasty. She actually suspected the peasants of taking public revenge for private animosities. "I stood extremely firm on the petty bourgeois stand and manifested the utmost individualism," she said. But it all came out right in the end. The teacher gained the proletarian standpoint, made full confession, and now attains the glory of being a people's teacher!³⁴

Following are extracts from a revealing "confession" by a Chinese Christian teacher, educated in America and England, who had been dean of discipline at Ginling College in Chengtu and who is now a professor in that institution:

After studying for three months in the East China Institute of Political Studies for University Teachers, I have for the first time come to understand the hidden and poisonous nature of imperialistic slave education. . . .

How did it happen that I had been poisoned so deeply? It was because I had been poisoned with American slave education from my early youth. In primary and middle schools [in China] American principals paid special attention to me, scheming to train me as their tool in cultural aggression. . . .

I was sent to America in 1936 to study John Dewey's reformism and religious education. When I returned home in 1940 I joined the staff of Ginling College in Chengtu, and became still more directly the tool of American cultural aggression. . . . As dean, I still more oppressed

³³ *Christian Century*, June 4, 1952, p. 685.

³⁴ "Sidelights on Ideological Re-moulding in China," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Feb. 28, 1952.

young people on behalf of reactionary forces, preventing them from making progress. This was a serious crime but I did not realize it at the time. . . .

As I look back over this part of my life, as student, as teacher, as student abroad, I realize that there was never a day that I was not under the influence of American imperialistic education, with a very limited outlook, like being at the bottom of a well looking up at the sky. . . .

Now I have received the revelation of truth. To say it in a word, I have been converted, and so my attitude toward my past mistakes and toward the objective world has been entirely changed. My conversion was gradual and painful. . . . After several days of mental struggle I began to realize my past mistakes. . . . The hideous appearance of imperialist cultural aggression stood out plain before me.

After I had broken the chains of this slave education my mouth was opened so that I could denounce imperialism. I regretted that I had formerly believed that missionaries had really come to preach religion, that they would not put on the cloak of religion to be spies. . . .

"The fish-seller doesn't know that he stinks of fish." Because I had received so many years of American slave education I was grateful to it, and didn't recognize the cultural aggression. This is indeed a shameful thing. . . .

I want to cast out all "love, praise, and fear America" thinking, and by study, analysis, and criticism cure my former sickness. From now on I will be a new person, for it is only through a sincere change of myself that I can be really liberated and fully serve the people.³⁵

What is the annual production of graduates from China's new universities and what are they doing? An answer to these questions is given by Ting Hua, head of the Bureau of Personnel of the Ministry of Higher Education, in a dispatch from Peiping dated July 8, 1953. He says that there were 35,000 graduates of China's two hundred institutions of higher education in the summer of 1953. This was twice the number that finished their courses in 1951. The number in the fields of the natural sciences had increased fourfold.

"Plans for placing these graduates in the posts most suited to the needs of the country are now being finalized," said Ting Hua. "Forty-six percent of the graduates will be allocated to industry; 14 percent to agriculture and related fields; 12 percent will become teachers in secondary schools. Others will go to cultural, political, military, and governmental positions." According

³⁵ "What Do They Confess? A Chinese Christian Teacher's Testimony in a 'Self-Accusation' Meeting," *Christian Century*, Aug. 20, 1952, pp. 946-48. The author of the statement was Miss Helen Djang.

to Mr. Ting, "There is tremendous enthusiasm among the graduates and they are keen to take their places in the work of national construction. Their political consciousness after four years of education has been considerably raised." This is the only qualification for *employment* specifically mentioned. Considerately, however, he adds: "We are doing our best to insure that married couples are allocated to the same places to work," but he could not guarantee this result. "In general, students are eager to go to any post anywhere, wherever it is thought they can be of most use to their country," he added. Ting Hua pointed out the sharp contrast between the prospects of graduates before and after liberation. He said that while it was common before liberation that graduation literally meant unemployment, today's graduates are guaranteed every opportunity and consideration by the People's Government. He did not point out that they have no choice of place or type of their employment.

Both the Peiping government and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, a nation-wide organization, are fostering the expansion of Sino-Soviet cultural relations especially through Soviet professors and cultural groups visiting China and Chinese students and cultural groups visiting the Soviet Union to learn from the Russians. A twenty-four member Chinese delegation, sponsored by the China Academy of Sciences left for Moscow on February 24, 1953, according to the official NCNA. Another dispatch from this agency from Peiping dated February 14, 1953, the third anniversary of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Aid, referred to the "important strides" made in Sino-Soviet cultural relations during the previous three years. This dispatch quoted Liu Shao-ch'i, secretary of the Chinese Communist party, as saying that China had sent twenty-two cultural delegations to the Soviet Union during this period while the Soviet Union had sent eighteen such delegations to China.

Educational and other cultural delegations have also visited Communist China from England, from India, and from Ceylon.

Benjamin Farrington writes of his observations as a member of a party of thirty-one Britishers who recently spent a few weeks in China on the invitation of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.³⁶ He reports the statement of the Minister of Internal

³⁶ *Journal of Education* (London), January 1953, pp. 14 f.

Affairs to the British delegation that no intellectual had been dismissed from his post for failure to remold his thinking. Mr. Farrington says that in two weeks he had met and talked with sixty intellectuals in universities, museums, and schools and found no reason to doubt this statement. Apparently he failed to realize that he had met only those who had retained their posts and the ones that his hosts considered it safe for him to meet!

More discriminating was the report of John Clews, a British student who was a member of a delegation of more than thirty members which visited China in 1951. He was one of the few non-Communist members of the group. His reception at the People's University was somewhat less than cordial. His contacts were carefully guarded. "The single Chinese student who attempted to talk with me unofficially," he says, "turned away quickly after a Yenching official had approached us and spoke angry words to her." When they left Peiping, "two or three of our hosts glared their hate into my eyes and memory. The probability that I can again visit a Communist country no longer exists."³⁷

An Indian cultural mission of fourteen members under the leadership of Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of Prime Minister Nehru, and now president of the General Assembly of the United Nations, also visited China in 1951 for a tour of five weeks. According to a dispatch in the *New York Times* for June 8, 1951, several members of the delegation expressed disappointment at the lack of progress shown in specialized lines such as education. This in spite of the fact that they were carefully guided in what they saw. One member of the Indian delegation was Frank R. Moraes, editor of the *Times of India*, the influential newspaper of Bombay, the *Times of Ceylon*, and the *Bombay National Standard*. Mr. Moraes has degrees from the University of Bombay and the University of Oxford. Since his return he has written a book³⁸ on his observations and several articles. Extracts from one of the articles follow.

The people of China have been wallowing in a vast ideological bath. . . .

The bookshops are all alike, confined largely to Chinese and Russian

³⁷ Clews, "Inside China: A Report from Peiping," *New York Times*, Sept. 30, 1951, pp. 27 f. Space does not permit more extended quotation from this revealing article.

³⁸ Moraes, *Report on Mao's China* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1953), 212 pp.

books, the New China journals being closely patterned on their Muscovite models and all singing the glories of Marxism. The few English journals and books are handpicked. The bookshops of Peiping around four o'clock every evening are alive with school children who sit on stools and on the floor or stand around reading avidly the brightly colored children's books of the new regime. No American lad could pore over his comics more eagerly. . . .

Of all the groups, I found it most depressing to talk with the university professors and intellectuals. Those who knew the old China know the nimbleness of the Chinese mind and the bright brittle talk which was once among the more shining graces of educated society. Today the intellectual climate is arid and furtive.

You never realize so strongly the value of individual freedom until you are in a Communist state. Among other intellectuals I met a most likable professor of philosophy and asked him whether the teaching of philosophy had been reoriented.

"Yes," he replied solemnly, "we now relate it to a historical materialistic background and interpret it so." There was a faintly quizzical look in his twinkling eyes.

But nearly always the attitude of an intellectual in China today is one of mental furtiveness, of something slightly degrading.

In the days of British rule in India, one often heard the claim that though the British could imprison the bodies of Indian patriots behind bars or barbed wire, they could never imprison their minds. But in Communist China, men's minds are literally imprisoned and chained.³⁹

Mr. Moraes also wrote two articles for the *New York Times*.⁴⁰ Commenting upon them editorially, the *Times* said: "Mr. Moraes is intelligent, well trained, honest, and level headed. He . . . has a long record of writing with integrity and balanced judgment. . . . He saw the artificiality of the hate campaign and the tragedy of the indoctrination of children. . . . Mr. Moraes will get no more invitations to China."⁴¹ In one of these articles Mr. Moraes relates the following anecdote:

Walking on the campus of Peiping's Tsinghua University one afternoon in May, I asked my Chinese student companion whether his textbooks had been changed with the "liberation."

"Yes," he replied.

"Were they out of date?" I asked.

"No, they were instruments of American cultural aggression," he replied.

³⁹ Moraes, "I Saw Red China," *United Nations World*, October 1952, pp. 26-29.

⁴⁰ June 13, 1952, p. 4; June 14, 1952, p. 13.

⁴¹ Editorial comment, June 14, 1952, p. 14.

Not all Chinese intellectuals, however, have succumbed to the freedom-destroying brain-washing process described above, although it appears that a large majority of them have done so. Thousands have chosen exile rather than submission. The largest number of these managed to escape to Hong Kong, where they were living a precarious and pitiful existence.

Congressman Walter H. Judd was instrumental in forming in 1952 a relief organization, Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals, Inc. This organization conducted a census of the Chinese refugee intellectual leaders in Hong Kong until over 20,000 were registered. Among the registrants were 3,855 educators. Nearly a thousand were educated in the United States with every major university represented. Among them were 28 graduates of the University of California, 21 from the University of Chicago, 77 from Columbia University, 20 from Harvard University, 15 from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 57 from the University of Michigan, and 43 from New York University.

In October 1953 the organization reported that it had been possible for it to move 1,300 refugee intellectuals and their families from the misery and squalor in which they had existed in Hong Kong to areas where they could work productively within their own fields, support themselves and their families, and live as free men. The great majority of this group was resettled in Formosa. Many more are awaiting resettlement.

A total of 185 writers, editors, and translators are employed in the ARCI-supported Free Chinese Literary Institute in Hong Kong. This institute is dedicated to the spirit of free inquiry and is battling for the minds of more than 10,000,000 members of overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia. Many other refugees have been helped by emergency grants for medical attention and other temporary crises.

Perhaps the most important achievement of the ARCI program, however, according to Dr. Judd, has been the *hope* given to Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. Its program has proved that the pronouncements of the free world and in particular of the United States are more than empty promises. They have been transformed into action. They have taken on form and substance.

The United States government authorized a program in April

1948 to provide emergency financial aid to Chinese students and scholars who found themselves stranded in the United States when the People's Republic was organized in their homeland. Up to June 30, 1953, 3,684 such persons had received financial assistance in reaching their educational objectives. Few of these have been willing to return to Communist China.

But if Communist China has thus lost thousands of intellectuals who have maintained their intellectual integrity by escaping to Hong Kong, she is securing thousands of other potential young intellectuals from Hong Kong, Malaya, Indonesia, and other parts of Southeast Asia with their Chinese population of more than ten millions. Chinese students from these countries are flocking to the reorganized universities of Red China for education, and every effort is being made to smooth their paths.

Official Communist reports from Canton indicate that about five thousand students from Indonesia, Malaya, Borneo, Hong Kong, and Macao crossed the border into Kwangtung between April and August 1953 for enrollment in mainland schools. Some unofficial observers estimate the total number in excess of seven thousand. This total was about 10 percent of the entire number of students scheduled to be admitted to higher educational institutions on the mainland in the autumn of 1953.

As far back as September 1951 the Kwangtung provincial government established an Overseas Chinese Studies College and an Overseas Chinese Middle School. Admission was restricted to overseas Chinese between the ages of eighteen and thirty who were "politically pure, willing to serve the people, and in good health."

According to a Canton dispatch published in the Hong Kong *Ta Kung Pao* on June 24, 1953, the Department of Education of Kwangtung Province and the Bureau of Education of the City of Canton have united to set up a special committee in Canton to assist students from Hong Kong and Macao who may be seeking higher education on the mainland. Preferential treatment is promised by the committee to such candidates. They will be given priority of admission to institutions in Canton. If in financial difficulties, they may apply for People's stipends and their applications will be given priority. The committee will assume responsibility for securing entry of these students into China. It has set up a

temporary reception center for them in Canton. It has also organized special refresher courses for those who are not adequately prepared for immediate entrance to higher institutions.

All indications are that the Communists have made greater efforts this year than last year to attract superior young overseas Chinese students for study in Communist institutions in China. Some of the special aid offered in Indonesia has been reported in chapter 4.

Some counteracting efforts to meet the needs of Chinese students from overseas in non-Communist institutions, particularly in Hong Kong, have been described in the section on Hong Kong in chapter 3.

Not many of these overseas students have yet graduated. Some will doubtless remain in China after they complete their courses, but the party leaders will probably decide that the larger number, thoroughly indoctrinated with Red ideology, can better serve the cause of world communism by returning to their homes in the various countries of Southeast Asia, to become new and effective foci of infection among the ten million Chinese in that part of the world, now outside the bamboo curtain and enjoying freedom of thought under democratic governments.

Such is a summary report on the intellectual atmosphere and distressing conditions in Communist China today as obtained from a variety of sources, many of them from firsthand observers, and from official Communist documents and reports. It is not a pleasant picture nor one to be accepted with complacency by the educational leaders of others lands. Freedom of thought, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, has been practically obliterated. Education has been prostituted to Marxist ends and made into a strait jacket. The information presented in this chapter should serve as a distinct warning particularly to educational leaders in the countries considered in this volume. In most of these countries it has been shown that Communist influence has made significant and sometimes alarming progress, especially in the field of education. As yet it has not secured the degree of control over men's minds which has developed so completely in four short years in China. It is to be hoped that it may never do so. But "it could happen here."

11. What Can the United States Do To Combat Communist Influence on Education Abroad?

THE FOREGOING CHAPTERS have presented factual information on the influence of communism on education in most of the countries of Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. It is hardly an attractive prospect. The Communist threat to democratic education is very real. In many countries there is ample evidence that the sinister influence of the Kremlin is increasing in the schools, colleges, and universities.

Education should be the bulwark and foundation of democratic governments. Many of the countries which we visited have recently achieved independence, and many other are steadily working in that direction. The newly independent ones are experimenting hopefully but haltingly with the methods of democracy. But they have many handicaps to overcome—poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, lack of democratic traditions and experience. Communist agents are steadily boring from within in an endeavor to wreck them before they have time to become firmly established democracies.

The long-time solution for many of the basic problems of these

countries, in whole or in part, lies in education. But can we wait for education to have its long-time effect? Or will communism step in with short-time calculated efficiency and take over the schools, as it has already done so ruthlessly in China? The situation in too much of Asia and Africa is a combination of chaos and hope. Whether hope will triumph over chaos depends largely on the assistance and stimulus received from more fortunate parts of the world.

Is all that has been presented in the preceding chapters of only academic interest? Or are there things that the United States can do better to combat Communist influence on education abroad? This final chapter will be devoted to answers to these questions, growing especially out of our experience and observations in the countries which we have visited in the past three years.

The United States has been doing and is still doing much, both officially and unofficially, but that much is not enough. The Communist forces are on the job night and day and they are working in ingenious and ruthless ways as already shown. They must be given credit for persistence—and for devilish ingenuity.

In chapter 1 it was shown that in many countries distressing economic and resultant unsatisfactory social conditions are basic reasons for the appeal of communism. If this is true, then obviously the remedy would be to remove these basic causes. This, however, is a tremendous task and can be accomplished but slowly. Much has been done to improve the economic situation in many of these countries by the United States government independently or through its membership in various international organizations. For the most part, however, these are general programs and their scope is much broader than education alone, although many of them have educational aspects which should be continued and enlarged. In this chapter, though, we shall be concerned with more specifically educational conditions and recommendations.

The recommendations of this chapter will be presented in three groups: (1) removal of causes of criticism of the United States abroad; (2) improvement in government programs for promotion of international understanding; and (3) recommendations for colleges and universities.

REMOVAL OF CAUSES OF CRITICISM OF
UNITED STATES ABROAD

American education has a great responsibility and opportunity in international affairs for removing some of the causes of criticism of the United States and thus promoting real understanding among nations. Communists in foreign countries have not been slow to magnify and exploit our weaknesses—the race problem, labor strife, graft, crime, political differences. Our best defense against this line of attack is to set our own house in better order.

Of the weaknesses just mentioned, the most important for the purposes of our discussion and the one on which unfortunately we appear to be the most vulnerable abroad is the race problem. The people of Asia and Africa whom we hope to lead to more efficient democracy judge us too much on distorted reports drawn from our treatment or alleged treatment of the Negro. The questions most frequently asked abroad of the writer and of other speakers to Asian and African student audiences by Communist students and their friends concern the treatment of the Negro in American life.

Douglas Hyde, the British ex-Communist already quoted in chapter 1, who certainly is in a position to know, says that the possibility of the color bar or racial prejudice has probably made more Communists than any other single factor on earth today. "I put it as strongly as that," he says, "because its consequences are world wide. A lynching in the Southern States, a case of apparent racial discrimination in the West Indies, the practice of crude colour-bar in South Africa—these are used by Communists all over the world as ammunition."¹

One of the young high school delegates from Pakistan to the 1953 New York Herald Tribune Forum said: "The eyes of all Asia are focused on the way in which you handle the race question, particularly the segregation of and discrimination against the Negro." Another young delegate asked in surprise upon his arrival, "Where are the slaves?" It took almost three months to convince him that they were not being concealed from his inquiring eyes.

¹ Douglas Hyde, "Stirring Up Trouble," *Overseas*, March 1953, p. 13; May 1953, p. 46.

We found it best to admit frankly that the treatment of the Negro in America was far from ideal but that it must be understood in the light of traditional practices rooted far back in the days of slavery; to stress the vast improvements which have been made in his status in the last few years; and to point out that the Negro in America today has far more freedom, opportunity, and equality than he had a decade ago. Some critics were surprised to learn that the number of Negroes enrolled in higher educational institutions in the United States was equal to the total enrollment of all students in British universities, even though the total population of Great Britain is three times that of Negroes in the United States; or that the actual lynchings of Negroes in the United States was less than two per year for the past decade with none in 1952 or 1953 (not "hundreds" or "thousands" as claimed by many Communist writers and speakers); or that the life expectancy of American Negroes had increased from forty-seven years to fifty-nine years in less than a generation, far greater than the life expectancy today in any Asian or African country.

An excellent feature that we noted was the considerable number of Negro appointees sent abroad under the Fulbright and other governmental exchange programs; also the several excellent Negro cultural relations officers in some of our embassies and consulates, particularly in India and Pakistan. Such men are much more effective than any amount of printed information on the race question. They are a daily living example of racial equality that quickly give the lie to much irresponsible Communist criticism.

We also need Negro representatives on a nonofficial basis. Highly significant, therefore, is the experience of the Rev. James H. Robinson, a Negro Presbyterian minister of New York, who in 1951 was asked by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to take a leave of absence to tour Europe and Asia. In five months he spoke to at least 400,000 students, averaging four speeches a day. Indian students followed him on the trains and begged him to stay longer. Wherever he went in Asia he ran into Jim Crow in reverse—his color got him into places where white Americans were scarcely tolerated. "Most people in Europe and Asia," said Dr. Robinson, "were amazed to find a Negro who wasn't a Com-

munist." He found the people of India, of Lebanon, of Pakistan surprisingly well informed about racial discrimination in the United States. Communists peppered him with loaded questions. "By taking five minutes to admit the worst," said Dr. Robinson, "I could then spend an hour saying what you can do in a democracy and showing them what an excellent expectancy there is for the next ten years in race relations in the United States." Dr. Robinson believes that the best unofficial ambassadors that we can send abroad are qualified Negroes. "Such people," he says, "would be the best answer to Communist propaganda, because white people in Asia are apologists at best about race problems."

Similarly in December 1953 Dr. Robert M. Williams, pastor of the Asbury Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., left on a six weeks' trip to India. The Bishop of Bombay selected him as one of two Negro ministers from America to tour key cities of India "to interpret to the Indian people the religious and economic conditions of the colored people of America."

We need many more Dr. Robinsons and Dr. Williamses. We need them not only in Asia but also in Africa. We need more Negro Fulbright scholars. We need more Negro cultural relations officers. We need many more Negroes as official as well as unofficial representatives of America in Asia and Africa. Let us make every effort to send them—but with full attention to Dr. Robinson's important adjective "qualified."

In addition, more publicity should be given abroad through the printed page, through photographs, through the motion picture, and through the radio to reports of Negro opportunities and achievements in America and to specific examples of removal of discriminatory practices and the improvement of race relations.

IMPROVEMENT IN GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

The primary responsibility of education is not economic but intellectual. Man cannot live by bread alone. The viewpoint of India is well expressed by M. R. Masani, former mayor of Bombay, who said recently: "America has a great 'feast of ideas' of which she can invite the rest of us to partake. It is time that the world hears more about these aspects of your life and a little less about

the number of your automobiles, refrigerators, and television sets. Certainly the world needs American technicians, engineers, and chemists. But it also needs American teachers, philosophers and social workers. The body needs sustenance, but so does the mind. . . . Empty minds and souls provide as good a breeding ground for communism as empty stomachs.”²

What can be done more specifically toward better filling the minds and souls of the hundreds of millions in Asia and Africa with information, ideas, and ideals of democracy?

Following are brief observations and recommendations looking toward the improvement of various United States government agencies and methods for the promotion of international understanding, growing out of our experiences abroad.

Libraries and Information Service.—We were particularly impressed with the libraries and other services of the United States Information Service in the promotion of international understanding and good will, friendliness to America and to the democratic way of life, and consequent diminution of the appeal of communism. Of the almost two hundred American libraries abroad seventy-nine are maintained in Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. We had good opportunities to observe the work of many of these. On the whole we found them doing excellent service, often under severe handicaps. They were usually crowded with readers. Many had inadequate quarters, most had insufficient staffs. We think it exceedingly unfortunate to find since our return to the United States that most of them have recently suffered drastic cuts in staff and resultant services and that some have even been closed. This is one place where such cuts are certainly false economy.

We have not heard any reports of cuts in the staff or services in any of the Soviet information services and libraries in any of these countries. If we must maintain extensive and expensive military forces at home and abroad because the Soviet Union is doing so (and unfortunately we must, at least for some time to come), we should certainly apply the same logic and philosophy to the intellectual field. We cannot afford to forget the preamble to the constitution of UNESCO: “Since wars begin in the minds of men, it

² M. R. Masani, “U.S. Refrigerators vs. U.S. Ideas,” *Saturday Review*, Nov. 8, 1952, p. 22.

is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." Our libraries abroad are among the best first-line "defenses of peace." They are very desirable "arsenals of ideas." They should be well-stocked with dynamic materials.

We think back to our visits to our library at New Delhi, to the inadequate rooms crowded with eager readers standing on one foot or perched on ladders, balustrades, and window sills, and to the ineffective service in spite of valiant efforts on the part of the small staff. And this in the capital of a nation with more than twice the population of the United States, the leading Asiatic nation today. Think what the cost of a single strategic bomber would do toward carrying an additional load of effective intellectual bombs into the "minds and souls" of thousands of young Asians and Africans. We cannot urge too strongly an increase, not a decrease, in the funds and staff available for American libraries and related information services abroad, particularly in Asia and Africa. This is vital—plus.

Our libraries should be open more hours a week, and at hours when many of the people have leisure to use them, particularly at noon periods and evenings. The forty-hour week is a poor criterion of efficiency for a United States library in Asia or Africa. Communist libraries in these countries recognize no such limitations.

Books adverse to communism might well be placed on display in a convenient place and attention drawn to them as we found done in the American library at Tehran. Much more of the literature of democracy should be circulated on the streets and made available in the many bookstalls. The United States Information Service and the British Council have been doing much, but that much is not enough. The challenge is tremendous and continuing.

The above recommendations apply particularly to books and other printed materials. Most of them can be repeated, however, and with emphasis, for photographs, films, and other visual materials. Many thousands of young people in the lands we have been considering not only cannot read English readily, they cannot even read in their own language. But they can all see. Never was the old Chinese proverb better applicable—"One picture is worth ten thousand words." We have already recorded our regretful observation that in many cases the Soviet information services are doing

much better in their pictorial exhibits than are we. Our pictorial service should be extended and improved in quality and in quantity—not restricted and reduced through false economy.

Exchange of Students, Professors, and Other Leaders.—Undoubtedly one of the most effective means of developing democratic concepts and thus combating the threatened spread of Marxist ideas and organizations is through the international exchange of students, professors, and other potential leaders.

Many such programs under the sponsorship of the American government have been developed in the past few years. This is not the place nor is there space even to summarize the nature and achievements of these programs.³ Suffice it to say that during the single fiscal year 1952-53 under the principal government programs no less than 10,249 foreign students, scholars, and leaders were brought to the United States (of whom 2,948 were from Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific); while 4,324 American technicians, specialists, teachers, etc., were sent abroad (of whom 1,929 were sent to Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific); at a total cost to the government of approximately \$50,000,000.⁴ Many of these, particularly those sent to Asia and Africa under the Fulbright program, we met during our journeys.

The student program, however, is by no means limited to foreign students who have come to America to study at the expense of the United States government. As a matter of fact, the number studying under such programs is only a small fraction (about one-ninth) of the total number of "potential ambassadors of international good will" from foreign countries who are enrolled in American colleges and universities. The Institute of International Education reports 33,675 foreign students studying in institutions of higher education in the United States in 1952-53. Of this total more than one-third (12,944 or 38 percent) came from Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific. Details by countries are tabulated in

³ For descriptions of the Fulbright program, the Smith-Mundt Act, the Occupied Areas program, Point Four program, Mutual Security programs, and other programs with special reference to their educational implications and values, see Paul S. Bodenman, "Educational Cooperation with Foreign Countries," *Higher Education*, March 1, 1953, pp. 145-50; and Helen A. Miller, "U.S. Government Programs of International Exchange: 1952," *Educational Record*, October 1953, pp. 313-26.

⁴ Miller, *op. cit.* and *International Educational Exchange Program* (Twelfth Semiannual Report, July-December 1953), U. S. Department of State, pp. 22-25.

Appendix B. One in five of the students from Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific is a woman. This is particularly significant in view of the very recent educational emancipation of women in many countries in these areas.

One Year Too Short.—Practically all of the government programs for study in America are limited to terms of one year or less for the recipients of grants. Often this is insufficient for best results. The foreign student usually requires several months for satisfactory adjustment to the new conditions he finds on the American college campus. The situation is worse when he is laboring under a linguistic handicap, as many foreign students are. It is not too much to say that many students from abroad would easily obtain three times as much value for twice as long a period of academic residence. Often an additional year would give the student the opportunity to gain an advanced degree, which would give him greater prestige at home and more probability of appointment to a position of real responsibility and leadership in his own country.

If the above remarks are valid for *students* sent to America for a full year of study, what should be said for the large groups which have been financed by government grants for much briefer periods, usually only three months? It is true that many of these are mature individuals and specialists who wish to concentrate in very limited fields, but even so one wonders whether they have time for more than a very superficial visit, especially when many of them try to cover the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. If the number of such visitors were cut in half, standards of selection raised, and length of stay in America doubled, it would not only be more economical but in many cases much more effective and rewarding for all concerned.

Adjustments to American Life.—Many of the students and some of the members of other groups have suffered from insufficient advance information regarding life and customs in America. Some have run into serious financial difficulties. Some have used unnecessarily expensive modes of travel when coach or bus would have sufficed—and given them better opportunities to associate with the rank and file of the American people. These difficulties were particularly evident in the case of some of the first students

from Japan to come under government auspices. The problems can be met in part by better orientation given them in advance in the home countries. For recent groups excellent orientation programs have been set up at certain institutions in the United States. These should be continued and extended until all entering foreign students are included.

Locations in the United States.—It may be questioned whether under some of the government programs there is not too great concentration in a few localities. For example, more than half of the four hundred Fulbright scholars from foreign countries in 1951–52 were concentrated in ten large universities. A wider distribution might be desirable. Our visitors would often profit from a more intimate knowledge of small town and rural conditions, of the characteristics of small colleges as well as those of great universities.

Inadequate Knowledge of English.—A considerable number of those chosen for short observational trips to America have been found to lack sufficient command of English to profit most by their relatively short stay in the country. Many have a good reading knowledge of English but their conversational ability is very limited. This limitation is found also in some of the students, but it can be better overcome with them because of their longer period of residence in a single place. Even so, their first term or semester is often badly handicapped by language difficulties. Real fluency in English, spoken as well as written, should be more carefully checked in the country of origin and made an indispensable condition for selection.

Living Conditions of Americans Abroad.—In some countries we found that living conditions, particularly for appointees under the Fulbright Act, were far from satisfactory or conducive to best work. There are some advantages, of course, in living under native conditions and thus better understanding native life, but this can easily be overdone in some countries of Asia and Africa. In some cases Fulbright scholars have been helpfully assisted by the American consulate; in others they have been left largely to shift for themselves. In some they have even been denied such amenities as mail facilities, commissary privileges, and attendance at motion pictures shown for the consular staff and their families.

Area and Type of Activity Abroad.—A fault we found with some Point Four and other programs abroad was the tendency for too many of the staff to remain in the capital cities, enjoying their ample salaries, their comfortable and sometimes luxurious houses, their numerous servants, and innumerable cocktail parties, instead of getting out in their shirt-sleeves into the villages and rural areas and giving real help to people at the grass-roots level. One Lebanese observed to correspondent Marguerite Higgins, "The salary of only one of your American experts here in Beirut would feed the people of my whole village for a year."

Closely related to this condition is that of recruitment and training of personnel in the United States for the work they should do in foreign countries—to be sure that they promote, not obstruct, true international understanding and good will. Only those should be sent abroad under the various programs whose ideal is to serve, not to rule. We should send men and women trained to practice and teach true democracy, those who are willing to soil their hands if necessary in helping others to help themselves, even if those hands have to touch less frequently the teacup and the cocktail glass.

Roving Cultural Officers.—Almost every country we visited in the Orient could make excellent use of the services of a well-qualified roving cultural officer like the one whose work in India was described in chapter 5. But he must be *well qualified*—which not only means that he must have an excellent knowledge of conditions in America and in the country to which he is assigned, but also fluency in the native language, and a strong constitution able to stand the rigors of travel, food, and lodging often under primitive conditions. Such a man, working two-thirds or more of his time in actual contact with impressionable and eager young students and teachers, could do more to develop real understanding and good will and thus to combat effectively the threat of communism than a dozen men sitting at desks in the capital.

One of the things that caused much favorable comment on the part of Indians regarding Chester Bowles was that in the first few months of his service as Ambassador to India he found time to visit some forty universities in all parts of the country and to talk with students and professors. Further favorable comment resulted from

the fact that he placed his children in the Indian public schools of New Delhi, not in a private school. He proved a very effective roving cultural officer in addition to his arduous duties as Ambassador. Mr. Bowles told the writer that he would be very happy if he could get any one or more of a half-dozen outstanding American leaders to spend a few months in India, visiting universities, talking to students, and answering their questions. He felt that such service would be invaluable.

Utilization of Returned Students.—When young people return to their home countries after a period of advanced study and observation in America, particularly those under the government programs already mentioned, they should not be allowed to drop out of sight. The local United States cultural relations officers should cultivate their acquaintance, encourage them to maintain close touch with American friends and organizations, arrange if necessary for organization of an “alumni” group (perhaps like the Egyptian-American Society we found so active in Cairo), make available to them American publications in their field of special interest, and utilize their assistance in selection and orientation of other young men and young women looking toward America for similar educational opportunities. The services and abilities of these young leaders should be utilized to the full after they return to their home countries. Their enthusiasm and inspiration should not be allowed to cool.

Expansion of Government Programs.—All of the existing government programs are excellent, but they are not sufficient. The number of foreign beneficiaries under them, at least from the countries of Asia and Africa, could well be increased at least five-fold. All through these vast areas the crying need is for trained, intelligent, progressive, *indigenous* leadership. Much has been accomplished, it is true, and much more will be achieved by sending out *American* educational leaders and specialists, but in the long run it is *native* leadership that will determine the future of these countries.

The Kremlin well understands this basic principle, particularly in countries inhabited by the colored races. The Communists regularly train hundreds of native young men in Moscow and send them, not native Russians, to teach and reach their own people

in Asia and Africa. Communism has learned to start with people, not with governments. The Marxist knows that if he does not capture the mind of the people, any other efforts will be in vain.

We should therefore invite to our shores not hundreds but thousands of the Orient's best students to see how democracy works—and to return to their own people as more effective exponents of democracy than the most devoted and dedicated American could ever be. An Indian or Iranian or Egyptian is much more likely to believe good things about America if, instead of hearing them from American officials, he hears them from another Indian, or Iranian, or Egyptian. The American necessarily will always remain an outsider. The future of these Oriental countries ultimately will rest with the insider. We can help him greatly, but we cannot substitute for him.

SPECIAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

What can American colleges and universities do specifically toward improvement of the situation under consideration in this chapter? They can improve their curricular offerings for their own students. They can better meet the needs of their foreign students. They can send various types of assistance abroad. They can co-operate with other institutions or agencies in special kinds of service.

Curricular Offerings.—Many universities and some colleges offer courses in international relations. All colleges should do so and the larger universities should offer several courses in this field.

University schools of education and teachers colleges should offer courses in comparative education. Many of them are not now doing so, or if they are, enrollments in such courses are often small.

Every college today can well consider the desirability of offering a special course in the history, philosophy, and tactics of communism. This of course is not to *teach* communism, but to teach *about* communism, a very different matter. The University of San Francisco, which inaugurated such a course in 1951, claims to be the first American university to make such a course required of all its students.

Very commendable is the organization of special area studies in some of our larger universities such as the African Study Center at

Northwestern University, the Near East and Middle East study centers at Columbia University, or the Southeastern Asia study programs at Yale University and Cornell University. More such special facilities for study of the problems of Asia and Africa can well be provided in other universities.

Foreign Study Groups.—American institutions have been sending a variety of groups of students abroad for extended periods of study, particularly in Europe, ever since the University of Delaware instituted the “Junior Year Abroad” in 1923. This plan has recently been extended to many other institutions and broadened in scope. Annually many special tours of university students studying art, literature, music, and other aspects of European life go to Europe. These programs of tours and special study should no longer be confined to Europe. Some groups may well concentrate on Africa or Asia or on the vital group of countries and peoples around the vast Pacific Basin. Is there any valid reason why the junior or senior year or perhaps a first graduate year should not be spent by carefully organized groups of students in Australia or the Philippines or India or Egypt or Algeria?

Extension Centers Abroad.—The University of Maryland has established no less than forty-five extension centers in Europe where its own staff, assisted by European scholars, have conducted courses leading to the bachelor's degree, primarily for the benefit of American servicemen serving temporarily in Europe. The majority of the more than three thousand students enrolled for the most recent term were armed services personnel, but American civilians were also admitted to some classes if their enrollment did not displace men from the armed services. Such centers could well be extended to Africa where we found many thousand servicemen at the large American air bases which we visited in Libya and Morocco. *It would be highly desirable if a limited number of well-qualified nationals of those African territories could also be admitted to such classes (instead of sending them to America),* with mutual benefit to both types of participants. A similar service has been rendered to American troops in Japan by the University of California. Admission of a few well-qualified Japanese students to these courses would be similarly desirable.

Student Guidance in American Institutions.—The Institute of

International Education reports foreign students in 1952-53 enrolled in 1,449 institutions of higher education. Sixty-five of these have more than one hundred foreign students each. Special advisers of foreign students have been appointed in many if not most of them. They should be appointed in all institutions with a half dozen or more foreign students.

Special efforts need to be made to see that foreign students, particularly those with colored skin, are not the subject of humiliating racial discrimination in the colleges in which they are enrolled or in the communities in which these institutions are located.

Are these institutions, through their foreign student advisers or otherwise, doing all they can to combat possible direct Communist influence on their foreign students, particularly in the larger urban centers? Does the situation, present or potential, already reported in London, exist in any American university centers? The well-informed ex-Communist Douglas Hyde refers to London, Paris, and *New York*, as potent centers of Communist influence among university students. More than a third (13,109) of the foreign students in the United States are enrolled in institutions in New York, the District of Columbia, Illinois, and California. New York City, Washington, Chicago, San Francisco, and Los Angeles are cities certainly not entirely free from Communist influences. We have seen how in London dedicated Communist agents work with efficiency upon new and lonely students, especially those with colored skin. And we have seen that more than a third of the foreign students in the United States are from countries of Asia and Africa and the South Pacific where the prevailing color of the epidermis is other than white. Such students can be as lonely in New York or Los Angeles as they can in London. Communist agents can be just as efficient in the United States as in England. Are they? It is worth while for local university authorities to answer this question for their own institutions—before the situation gets so bad as to require Cabinet action as it did in Great Britain.

Elementary Textbooks for Native Schools.—A crying need in many countries is for textbooks for elementary schools better adapted to the needs of their pupils. In the section on Kenya in chapter 8 we indicated the unsuitability of textbooks written in London for use in East Africa. In a school in Tanganyika we saw

more of these books and listened to the laments of the teachers over their unsuitability for African use. For the most part this is not something that can be remedied from the outside. Satisfactory textbooks need to be written by native authors who know not only the native language fluently but also native life and conditions, habits, traditions, and customs. In too many cases, however, such authors have little or no knowledge of the psychology and methodology of modern textbook construction, vocabulary frequencies, use of color, appropriate typography, and similar factors.

Two specific recommendations may be made. Faculty guidance officers in American institutions, particularly those with schools of education, should make a particular point of urging foreign students who expect to return to educational work in their native lands to pay special attention to this matter, to take one or more courses related to it, and to accumulate a stock of the best recent American textbooks in their particular fields of interest to take home with them as suggestive samples.

But only a minimum number, perhaps, of actual textbook authors will ever be able to study in America. One of the excellent services which America did for the improvement of textbooks in Japan was to provide special textbook center libraries. The Department of the Army organized a committee to select representative American elementary and secondary textbooks in current use in American schools. More than five hundred titles were chosen. In the selection particular attention was given to books which would be of maximum value to Japanese educators in understanding democratic classroom techniques. Thirteen sets of each of these selected titles were placed in the principal cities of Japan. They were extensively used by textbook writers and curriculum committees for suggestions and for adaptation to Japanese conditions. Today Japan has some very attractive and modern textbooks in her elementary schools. Much of the credit is due to these textbook libraries.

The government or some private agency or foundation would do a great service to education in Asia or Africa if it would sponsor such textbook libraries in connection with each of the USIS libraries in most of the larger countries. Or it might be judged preferable in some cases to place them in a local university or

teacher-training institution to secure greater usefulness for them.

Guidance Concept in Foreign Institutions.—The American concept of student guidance and personnel services (educational, vocational, health, social, and personal) is as yet almost unknown in most of the universities which we visited in Asia and Africa. Yet the wise advice of a trained and sympathetic counselor might do much to keep students on an even keel and to prevent many of them from straying into the Communist fold. The chief trouble is the lack of trained counselors and the wrong attitude of administrators and professors toward the work. The typical Japanese professor, for example, feels that it is the student's own concern whether or not he develops into a well-adjusted individual and member of society. His interest stops at the door of the lecture room. As a result there are few professors qualified for student guidance work or interested in it. The guidance function in Japan, what there is of it, is assigned to the business office and is the immediate responsibility of some clerk.

The same type of recommendation made above in connection with textbooks may be repeated. Advisers in American universities responsible for the study programs of foreign students, particularly those enrolling in schools of education, should stress the importance of one or more courses in guidance and personnel methods. They should also help students accumulate all possible related literature for use when they return to their home countries.

Institutional Adoptions.—The world is a moderately large place. Asia and Africa are each far larger than the United States, both in area and in population. Wholesale programs of educational cooperation are difficult to organize and administer. The retail method is needed—in both directions. We remember well the pride and satisfaction with which a young Indian student told of regularly receiving books, magazines, personal letters, and other materials from a college in New England which he had visited and at which he had been invited to speak. In a sense his college in India had been "adopted" by the New England one. With a little thought and effort on the part of some educational organizations hundreds of one-to-one correspondences could be set up between local institutions and those in foreign lands.

Many of the 600 junior colleges in the United States could each

adopt a particular junior college among the 200 new ones in Japan or the 70 in the Philippines, or the hundreds of equivalent intermediate colleges in India. Similarly for the colleges, universities, and technical schools in this country and in Asia and Africa which in many cases would welcome such an individualized relationship.

The two institutions could exchange books, photographs, student publications, local handicraft. Special local exhibits and programs could be arranged, each showing some phase of the work of the other. Many students are eager to have "pen pals." Numerous such pairs could be arranged between students in the two cooperating institutions. The human voice is much better than the written word, however, for establishing more cordial relationships between people of different countries, if they are able to use and understand a common language. It is entirely feasible now to make phonograph or wire recordings of speeches, messages, songs, and the like and to exchange them between the two associated institutions. The opportunities for promoting international understanding and good will are endless between institutions or between students in them in such an "adoption" arrangement as suggested above.

Alumni Associations.—Alumni associations of universities and colleges should make more than the normal effort to keep in touch with foreign students who have attended their institutions. Special literature and materials may well be sent them from time to time. Foreign students who have returned home should be encouraged to ask for special services from the alumni association.

Other Projects.—Other projects that might well be developed on an international and intercollegiate basis include trips by athletic teams, dramatic clubs, glee clubs, art exhibits, and other special interests. Before World War II frequent Japanese-American baseball contests were staged in both countries. The recent trip of the Bali dancers to New York served to give thousands a taste of the fascinating music and art which we found on that exotic island. The British Council in 1951 sent a Shakespeare company of ten members on a tour of seventeen cities in India and Pakistan where more than a hundred performances were given. Many such American cultural groups have toured Europe, such as the American Negro company that presented *Porgy and Bess* in many cities on the Continent, or the dramatic group from Howard University that

went to Norway, or the Emory University glee club that we heard in concert in England. This paragraph is an earnest plea for the extension of such activity to Asia and Africa and the South Pacific. Negro musical or dramatic organizations would be specially desirable. Since travel distances are so great, such tours could hardly be self-supporting. Probably foundation or other assistance in financing would be necessary, but it would be an investment of funds which would pay rich dividends.

CONCLUSION

In every country which we have visited the forces of democracy need to carry on a more positive and dynamic program of spreading reliable information regarding the democratic way of life and its benefits, particularly among the young men and young women in the colleges and universities—the potential leaders of the future. More meetings should be held with speakers from democratic countries. More of the literature of democracy should be circulated. International understanding and good will must be promoted in many ways. The recommendations of this chapter have been directed toward that end. All over the world today American professors and students and especially native leaders and students who have returned from America to their native lands are helping to make lies of Communist propaganda. But the challenge is tremendous—and continuing. The war of ideas must be won. Communism must not be permitted to possess the minds and souls of the youth of Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific.

APPENDIX A

Population and Area Statistics: Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific*

<i>Country</i>	<i>Population (To nearest 1,000)</i>	<i>Area (Square Miles)</i>	<i>Popula- tion per Square Mile</i>	<i>Arable Area (%)</i>
<i>Asia</i>				
Burma	18,674,000	261,610	70	13
Ceylon	7,743,000	25,332	306	22
China	463,500,000	3,759,181	123	9
Formosa	8,000,000	13,885	576	..
Hong Kong	2,013,000	391	5,148	..
India	361,850,000	1,221,023	296	39
Indo-China	28,000,000	272,350	103	7
Iran	20,000,000	630,000	32	15
Iraq	5,100,000	168,040	30	8
Japan	84,600,000	142,266	595	16
Jordan	1,719,000	37,643	46	..
Lebanon	1,285,000	3,650	352	..
Macao	500,000	6	83,333	..
Malaya	5,227,000	50,598	103	16
Pakistan	75,687,000	365,907	207	22
Singapore	1,017,000	284	3,581	..
Syria	3,568,000	22,000	50	14
Thailand	18,836,000	198,271	95	10
Turkey	20,935,000	296,185	71	19
<i>Africa</i>				
Algeria	8,830,000	846,124	9	3
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	8,350,000	971,450	9	0.3
Egypt	20,729,000	386,000	54	2
Eritrea	1,104,000	48,000	23	..
Ethiopia	10,000,000	410,000	24	7
Kenya	5,555,000	224,960	25	3
Libya	1,124,000	679,350	2	..
Morocco, French	8,410,000	155,000	54	18
Morocco, Spanish	1,180,000	7,589	155	..
Somalia	1,246,000	198,275	6	..
Somaliland, French	56,000	8,400	7	..
Tanganyika	7,707,000	362,674	21	..
Tangier	111,000	135	822	..

* Figures from Rand McNally *Commercial Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1953). Used by special permission.

Tunisia	3,470,000	60,165	58	18
Uganda	5,147,000	93,981	55	..
Zanzibar	269,000	1,020	264	..
<i>South Pacific</i>				
Australia	8,289,000	2,974,581	3	2
Indonesia	73,500,000	575,893	128	7
New Zealand	1,947,000	103,416	19	4
Philippines	19,795,000	115,600	171	27
<i>For Comparison</i>				
United States	156,197,000	3,082,809	51	24

APPENDIX B

Foreign Students in the United States and Great Britain from Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific, 1952-53

<i>Home Country</i>	<i>In</i>		<i>In</i> <i>Great Britain†</i>
	<i>United States*</i>	<i>Women</i>	
	<i>Total No.</i>		
<i>Asia</i>			
Burma	137	28	65
Ceylon	41	10	186
China	2,352	678	46
Formosa	4	1	0
Hong Kong	222	61	68
India	1,216	137	975
Indo-China	84	25	8
Iran	881	86	95
Iraq	590	40	169
Japan	1,269	307	13
Jordan	381	26	37
Lebanon	187	33	18
Macao	2	0	0
Malaya	119	27	176
Pakistan	248	27	247
Singapore	65	14	45
Syria	182	13	26
Thailand	316	74	138
Turkey	420	50	59
Other Asia	1,561	288	212
Total	10,277	1,925	2,583
<i>Africa</i>			
Algeria	4	0	2
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	2	0	56

* From *Education for One World, 1952-53* (New York: Institute of International Education, 1953).

† From 1954 *Commonwealth Universities Yearbook* (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd.). The compilers of the *Yearbook* have included the following statement: "For *Yearbook* purposes a student is 'from abroad' if his permanent home residence is overseas, i.e., one whose parents are only temporarily resident or employed abroad is not included, nor is one who was born abroad and may therefore have a foreign nationality but who is now living permanently in the United Kingdom."

Egypt	337	26	377
Ethiopia	32	1	35
Kenya	10	0	149
Libya	2	0	4
Morocco, French	15	2	8
Tanganyika	3	1	27
Tunisia	4	0	1
Uganda	7	0	39
Zanzibar	0	0	10
Other Africa	665	105	1,275
Total	<u>1,081</u>	<u>135</u>	<u>1,983</u>
<i>South Pacific</i>			
Australia	226	34	400
Indonesia	141	26	11
New Zealand	79	16	218
Philippines	1,129	428	5
Other South Pacific	11	2	1
Total	<u>1,586</u>	<u>506</u>	<u>635</u>
<i>Grand Total</i>	12,944	2,566	5,201

APPENDIX C

Participants under Fulbright and Smith-Mundt Acts, from Asia, Africa, and the South Pacific, 1948-53*

	<i>Number to U.S. from—</i>	<i>Number from U.S. to—</i>
<i>Asia</i>		
Burma	148	62
Ceylon	84	7
China (1948, 1949)	24	41
Formosa	25	2
Hong Kong	2	0
India	523	119
Indo-China	65	0
Iran	185	18
Iraq	97	25
Japan (1952, 1953)	646	93
Jordan	11	0
Lebanon	19	3
Malaya	49	1
Pakistan	215	52
Syria	21	17
Thailand	172	51
Turkey	154	59
Other Asia	272	37
Total Asia	2,722	587
<i>Africa</i>		
Egypt and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan	232	115
Ethiopia	5	0
Kenya	3	0
Libya	4	0
Morocco	1	5
Tunisia	3	0
Uganda	3	0
Other Africa	47	8
Total Africa	298	128
<i>South Pacific</i>		
Australia	174	140
Indonesia	145	1
New Zealand	118	104
Philippines	320	123
Total South Pacific	757	368
<i>Grand Total</i>	3,777	1,083

* Data furnished by the U.S. Department of State to the author.

APPENDIX D

Itinerary of Dr. and Mrs. Walter Crosby Eells

ASIA, THE SOUTH PACIFIC, AFRICA 1947-53

JAPAN	March 1947-March 22, 1951
PHILIPPINES	March 25-April 11, 1951
HONG KONG	April 13-25, April 28, May 10-18, 1951
MACAO	April 25-28, 1951
FORMOSA	April 30-May 9, 1951
SINGAPORE	May 23-June 4, June 17-23, 1951
MALAYA	June 4-17, 1951
INDONESIA	June 25-July 3, November 10-December 7, 1951
AUSTRALIA	July 16-September 10, October 17-November 1, 1951
NEW ZEALAND	September 10-October 17, 1951
THAILAND	December 7-30, 1951; January 1-3, 1952
INDO-CHINA	December 30-31, 1951
BURMA	January 3-7, 1952
INDIA	January 7-26, February 19-March 15, March 31-May 2, 1952
CEYLON	January 28-February 18, 1952
PAKISTAN	March 17-31, May 2-5, 1952
IRAN	May 5-14, 1952
IRAQ	May 14-17, 1952
LEBANON	May 17-28, June 2-3, 1952
SYRIA	May 29, June 2, 1952
JORDAN	May 30-June 1, 1952
TURKEY	June 3-13, 1952
EGYPT	November 30, 1952-January 14, 1953
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN	January 14-19, 1953
ERITREA	January 19-20, March 6-7, 1953
ETHIOPIA	January 20-23, 1953
KENYA	January 23-February 3, February 12-17, February 21-22, 1953

UGANDA	February 4-11, 1953
TANGANYIKA	February 17-19, 1953
ZANZIBAR	February 20-21, 1953
SOMALIA	February 24—March 2, 1953
FRENCH SOMALILAND	March 3-4, 1953
TUNISIA	March 25-28, March 31—April 2, 1953
LIBYA	March 29-31, 1953
ALGERIA	April 2-10, 1953
FRENCH MOROCCO	April 10-20, 1953
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